

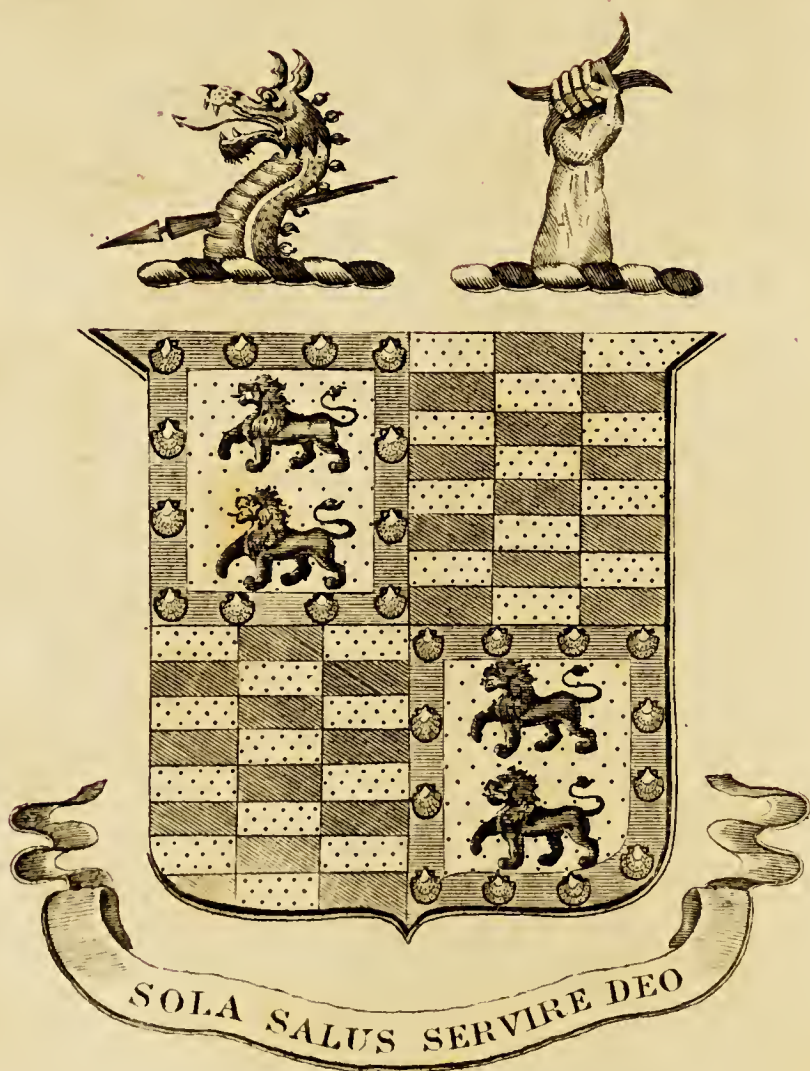
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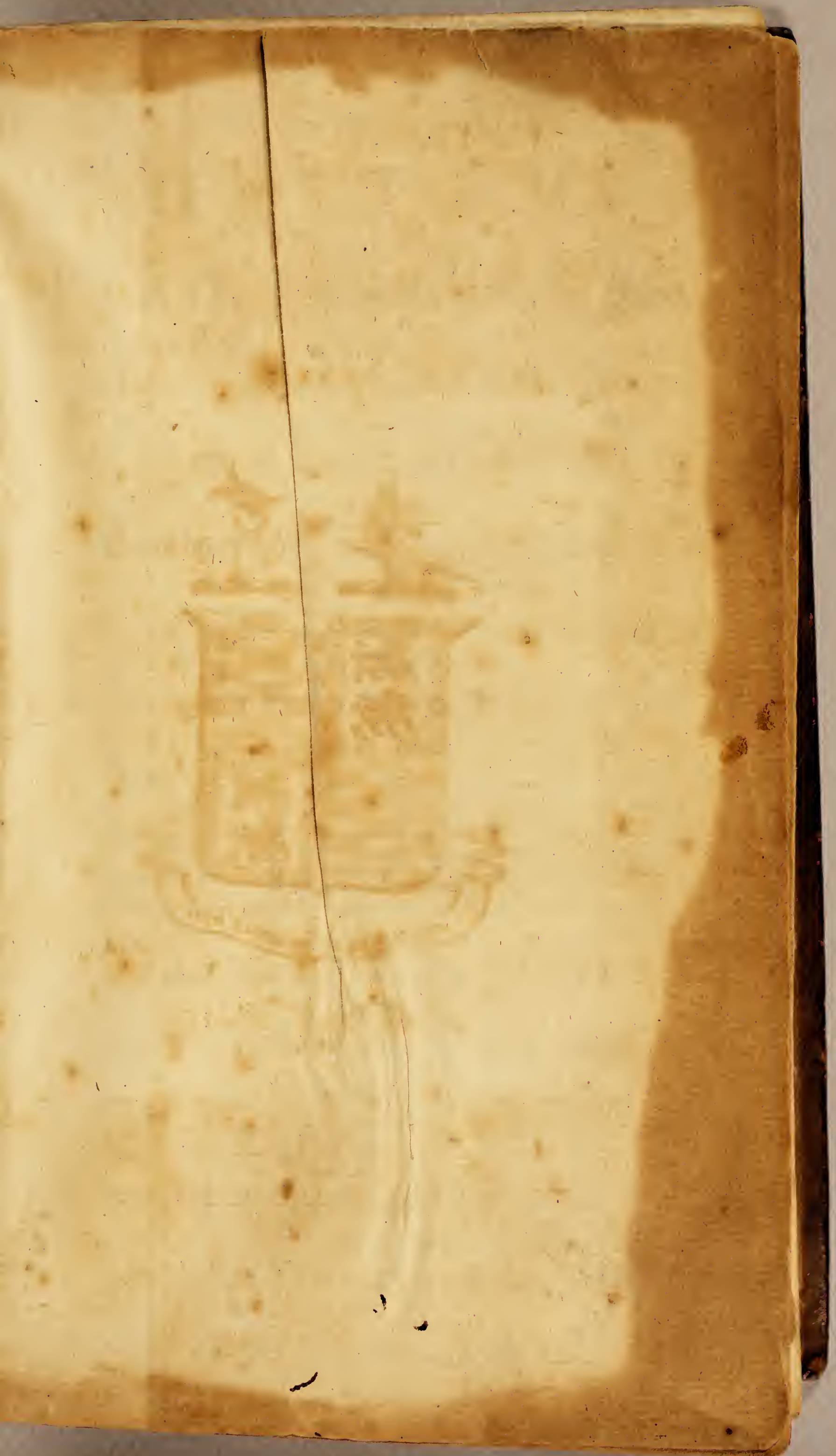


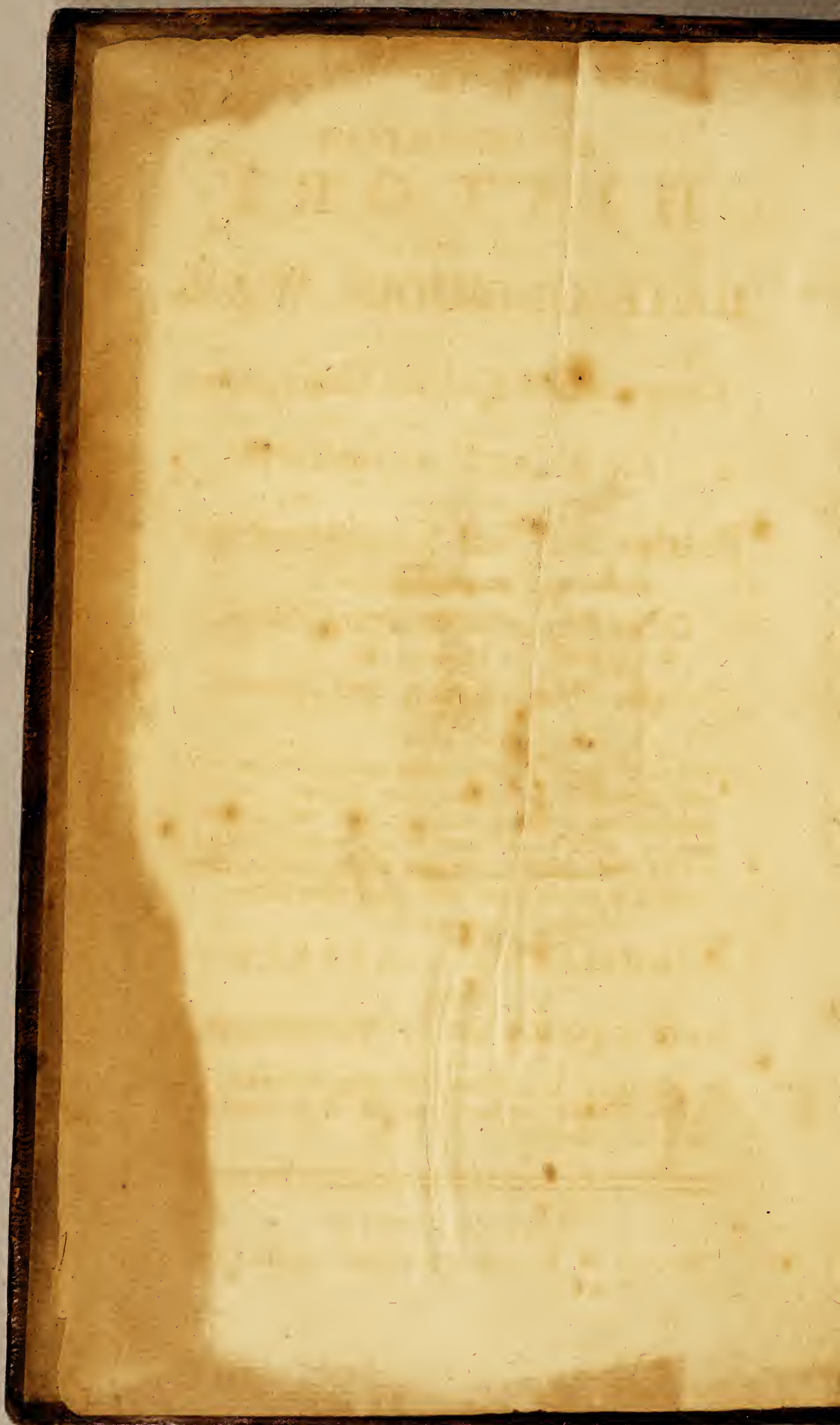
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AN IMPARTIAL
HISTORY
OF THE
LATE GLORIOUS WAR,

FROM IT'S
Commencement to it's Conclusion;

CONTAINING
AN EXACT ACCOUNT
OF THE
Battles and Sea Engagements;
TOGETHER WITH
Other Remarkable Transactions,

IN
Europe, Asia, Africa, and America:

WITH THE
CHARACTERS of those wise and upright STATESMEN,
who plann'd, and the illustrious HEROES, by whose
Courage and Conduct, together with the unparallel'd
Bravery of our LAND and SEA FORCES, GREAT-
BRITAIN obtained a SERIES of VICTORIES, scarcely
equalled in the Annals of this, or any other Nation.

WITH
REMARKS on the PEACE,
THE
STATE OF PARTIES WHEN IT WAS CONCLUDED,
AND
An ACCOUNT of the INHABITANTS, EXTENT, PRO-
DUCT, TRADE and IMPORTANCE, of the Places ceded
to GREAT-BRITAIN.

MANCHESTER:

PRINTED by R. WHITWORTH, M,DCC,LXIV.

AN IMPARTIAL
HISTORY
OF THE
LATE GLORIOUS WAR.

By
GEOFFREY CHAMBERLAIN
OF THE
HONORABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Part I. and Second Edition.
LONDON:
Printed by J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.

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By J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.
1796.

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AN IMPARTIAL
HISTORY
OF THE
LATE GLORIOUS WAR.

THE occasion of the *late War*, will be found to arise from a double dispute between Great Britain and France, about the limits of Nova Scotia, and the encroachments of France on the Ohio; the forks of which river, by watering a large and fertile country, gave the French an idea of uniting Canada with Louisiana, by a navigation of the intermediate lakes; a project too flattering to be overlook'd by that restless and enterprising monarchy, and which, it seems probable, they had resolved upon at the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Though hostilities were first commenced against the infant colony of Nova Scotia, with an open seizure of Tobago, one of the Neutral Islands, or, more properly, one of ours; yet it should seem only a finesse of the French policy, to try the temper of our ministry, while the encroachments on the back of Virginia were preparing, like a masked battery, to open on a proper occasion. This appeared afterwards to be their chief object, and the squabbles about Nova Scotia seem introduced in order to raise a dust, and divert our attention from their grand scheme, namely, To distress our colonies in general, by having it in their power to attack the back settlements, and, in conjunction with the Indians, whom they were industriously seducing for that purpose, Push the English, as they insolently gave out, into the sea.

It will be sufficient then to have hinted at the disputes concerning Nova Scotia and Tobago, as the first was a natural consequence of leaving things unsettled at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and the latter was an attempt so bare-faced,

as to be disavowed by France herself, and consequently the island was evacuated. The other encroachments of France will open to us sufficient matter both of narration and reflection, in relating the cruelty exercised by France on our back settlements, with the steps she took to embroil us on the continent of Europe, till the formal declaration of war.

The attention of Britain was soon called off, from lesser disputes, to counteract those avowed designs on the Ohio, which had been planned for near fifty years past, and now began to be put in execution, by the seizure of some English traders on that river, who were sent prisoners by the way of Quebec to Old France. Upon which, the other traders, at that time dispersed about the country, fled to the Indian towns for shelter; and these people taking part with their brethren, as they called the English, then in alliance with them, got together, and scouring the woods, took some French traders, by way of retaliation, whom they sent to Pennsylvania.

The Ohio, on the banks of which river this affair happened, rises in Pennsylvania, branching into several streams, called, The Forks of the Ohio, and running a course of four hundred miles through Virginia, &c. falls into the Mississippi, on the borders of North Carolina. It is necessary here to observe, that the French, before this affair, had no communication with Canada, but by a long and dangerous navigation up the river St. Lawrence, which is open but one part of the year; and Canada extends a great way into the continent, contiguous to several lakes, with navigable out-lets from one to the other, bordering on the back of the British settlements, by all which, a trade is carried on with the Indians.

The French seem long to have had a design of uniting Canada to Louisiana, as well to secure the trade with the Indians, as to have a more direct communication with Europe. To execute this project, they seized upon the whole country between the two colonies, and had begun to erect forts to secure their encroachments, which formed a chain of posts on the back of our colonies, serving, at the same time, to exclude us from all communication with the Indians. This project had, as we have observed, been long in forming; but the alarm was not given in earnest, till the French had drawn the Iroquois, or Five warlike Nations of Indians, to their interest; and then passing the Apalachean mountains, pretended a right to the western confines of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Now the Five Nations are the most considerable confederacy among the Indians, and, as conquerors of these parts, have their allies and tributaries.

tributaries. These, by the treaty of Utrecht, are acknowledged, as allies to Britain; also by treaties made and renewed with them his Britannic Majesty's subjects had a right to possess all the extent of country between Lake Erie and the Mississippi.

In this tract of land the fertile country on the Ohio is included, which, as it joins to Virginia, was attended to so early as 1654, by colonel Wood, then residing at the Falls of John's river, who sent proper persons over the mountains to trade with the natives, and engaged them in an alliance with the English: After this the French made a settlement in 1699, at the mouth of the Mississippi, and formed a design of uniting it with Canada, by means of the Ohio and other navigable waters. However, the English kept trading with the Indians unmolested, and in 1716, colonel Spotswood, governor of Virginia, proposed to establish a company there, which was opposed in England. Notwithstanding this, in 1725, the Ohio Indians came, of their own accord, to New-York and Albany, both to trade and renew their alliance with the English. This brought on a fresh attempt to revive Spotswood's scheme; for in 1730, endeavours were not wanting to procure a grant from the crown of some lands on the Ohio, with a proposal to settle a number of German protestants there, which was rejected; but in 1749, a grant being made of 600,000 acres to some London and Virginia Merchants, they associated under the title of the Ohio company, and before the land was well laid out, in the spring of 1751, some of our traders were seiz'd, which the Indians on the spot, then in alliance with us, resented, as before related.

However no act of hostility, on the part of England, had as yet taken place on account of the capture of our traders. It was with difficulty they were discharged by remonstrances at the court of France, though without any indemnification for the loss of their substance and liberty; but the French had now taken off the mask, and proceeding to seize the whole country in question, they sent out several detachments, and a large body of troops under the command of St. Pierre, which encamped on the south of Lake Erie; but their designs were check'd, for this season, by the death of M. de Jonquire, governor of Canada.

The marquis Du Quesne, his successor, soon after his arrival, put the troops in motion, and gave early indications of an enterprising spirit. The forts bordering on the English territories, and those actually erected on them, were supplied with ammunition, and considerably reinforced; the detachments were

strengthened, and St. Pierre had orders to take winter-quarters where he was encamped; upon which he built a fort there, and another on Beef-river, on the fork or branch of the Ohio, and navigable within fifteen miles of lake Erie. By these two forts, and that at Niagara, to which new works were added, together with another new fort erected at the conflux of the Ohio and Wabache rivers, the French compleated their design of forming a communication between Louisiana and Canada: By these means they were enabled to transport stores, travel, &c. by water between both colonies, except for a few miles by land, to avoid the great water-falls at Niagara, and for 15 miles from the fort on Beef-river to the fort on Lake Erie; and also a trifling interruption to avoid the Falls, or rippling streams in the Ohio and St. Lawrence. These are often called, The Rapids; those short passages by land, Carrying-places; and give a striking idea of the advantageous situation of this tract, on account of trade, exclusive of its natural fertility. The French had long envied us so valuable a possession, and now bid fair to extirpate the English, who had too much neglected so great an advantage.

As soon as the governor of Pennsylvania was informed of these proceedings, he laid a proposal before the assembly, to erect houses, which might serve both to truck with the Indians, and occasionally, as forts for security of the traders. This was approved of, and money granted for that purpose; but the pacific disposition of that colony, rendered it ineffectual, and the French continued their plan without interruption, till the governor of Virginia began to be seriously concern'd, and in October 1753, wrote to St. Pierre, complaining of hostilities, and requiring a reason why the French had invaded a territory undoubtedly belonging to Great-Britain. St. Pierre was then at the new fort on Beef-river; and in his answer to the governor, by major Washington, refers him to the governor of Canada, under whose authority he acted, and talks of the king his master's pretensions, with an assurance entirely French. The governor, that no time might be lost, complained instantly to the British ministry. In the mean time, he endeavour'd by animating speeches, to spirit up the Virginians, from a sense of their imminent danger, to a vigorous opposition. He wrote for aid from the neighbouring colonies, and proposed to erect a fort at the junction of the Ohio and Monangahela rivers. In order to this, measures should have been taken directly; but it was a work of time to unite the colonies in one general interest; and the ravages (perhaps some of that misconduct too which follow'd) were only sufficient to effect this.

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The Virginians were in earnest, as indeed nearest the invaders; and New-York generously voted them assistance, while the French kept strengthening themselves; and complaints being frequently sent to London, orders were dispatched for all the provinces to repel force by force, but to confine their operations to undisputed British territory. The governor, who never question'd the Ohio lands being British territory, went on to erect a fort to cover the frontiers, and the works were begun; but the governor of Canada sent M. Contracœur, who had taken the command of Beef-river, to oppose the design. That officer set out with 1000 men and some cannon, and advanced to Logg's-town, which he destroyed, with the block and trucking houses, whereby the colonies sustain'd considerable damage. He proceeded to the river, where he dislodged captain Trent, with a few men; a little further he found the traces of a fort, and some works begun, which on their approach were deserted.

Here he encamped, and finding the situation well chosen, finished the fort, which was called Du Quesne, in honour of the governor of Canada. In the mean time, orders came for the British governors to form a general confederacy against the enemy, to which every province might contribute a settled quota, or share of men, money, &c. The governor of New-York was directed to hold a conference with the chiefs of the Iroquois, and to endeavour fixing them in our interest; a considerable sum being ordered by his majesty to be laid out for that purpose. Though this scheme of a political union was greatly to be desired, it required some time, and no little address, to reconcile so many clashing interests. Those who were remote from the territory in dispute, reckoned themselves secure from the number and populousness of the colonies, and expected succours from the mother-country, before the invaders should reach them. It was necessary that the Pennsylvanians should be among the first to concert vigorous measures, as the French threatened to come down on them next, and the Indians were already in motion; but the disposition of that people was too passive. The quakers, who are by much the greatest part of the inhabitants, claimed a share of the government, while their principles, as well civil as religious, deprived those who were governed, of protection; but the Indian scalping-parties soon made them recede from these principles. The governor of New-York met the Indians at Albany, as it had been appointed, but little was done; though deputies from all the provinces were present, but few Indians appeared, and those took the presents indeed, but were much upon the reserve. The

truth

truth is, their national character was not attended to, which it may be proper here to touch upon.

The Indians, of this part of America, settled upon the lakes and navigable rivers, subsist chiefly by hunting, which makes them able to endure great hardships, and undertake long journies. Their trade is chiefly in furs and deer skins, for which they procure fire-arms, ammunition and cutlery ware, coarse blankets, and, of late, spirituous liquors; to which they are much addicted. As they are little concern'd for a future subsistence, they raise just as much corn as may serve for present use, and even leave this employment to the women; so that the colonies often supply them with provisions, which makes the Indians fond of renewing their alliances, even when their sincerity may justly be questioned, for the sake of those gifts they are accustomed to receive. It is not possible to break through the formalities which they have laid down in a treaty; to be very successful, it is necessary to adopt their manner. This the French had done with great address, and had inticed most of the Iroquois from our interest to theirs. They had held forth, in opposition to the moderate, or perhaps rather reserved, temper of our people, an idea of the grandeur and warlike preparations of France; which they seem'd to make good by troops every where in motion, seizing the Carrying-places, and fortifying them. The Indians knew the importance of these posts, and considered the French as able warriors, a character of all others respected by the savages.

It is no wonder France had been before us in this case. It required no more than to play off that spirit of intrigue, for which she is so remarkable. By these means the Indians were prepossessed in her favour and little was done, at that time, on our part to undeceive them.

However, the proximity of the Virginians caused them to exert themselves. They sent three hundred men under colonel Washington to the Great Meadows, on the Ohio. Being on his march he was attacked by a detachment under M. de Jumonville, whom he totally defeated with the loss of their commander. Soon after being joined by capt. Trent he began to erect a fort at the Great Meadows, which he called, properly enough, Fort-Necessity. Before it was compleated Contracoeur sent Mons. Villiers, brother to Jumonville, with nine hundred regulars and two hundred Indians, to dislodge the colonel before he could be reinforced from New-York, which he was expecting, as the time for the arrival of a body of forces was expired.

M. de Villiers attacked Fort Neceffity on the 3d of July, 1754, and after a smart fire, which lasted three hours, obliged the colonel, by his great superiority, to surrender upon honourable conditions. The English lost about forty men, but the French concealed the number of theirs. It appeared they were assisted by a body of Indians, who had been in alliance with the English, the consequences of which were alarming indeed to the colonies; for the English, trusting to an honourable capitulation, were set upon in their retreat by the savages, who plundered their baggage, killing and scalping without mercy. Thus far the French were successful, and the Indians, from the hope of plunder, fixed in their interest; while the provinces lay open to farther insults, disagreeing with one another, and their enemies availing themselves of such misconduct, to fortify a territory, undoubtedly British.

Soon after this affair was known at the court of London, strong remonstrances were made to that of France, but to little effect. The English ministry hoped to terminate these disputes by a negotiation. Averse to war, and unsettled by the death of Mr. Pelham, with the introduction of Mr. Pitt, and others into the administration, of whom they were jealous, and conscious that a war might call forth to public view their superior abilities. But in vain did they oppose the sense of an exasperated nation; people in general considered a war as unavoidable.

During the congress at Albany, governor Shirley proceeded to the river Kennebec, in New England, and erected forts at convenient places, to stop the enemies progress on this side, as they were in danger of a visit from Crown-point.

He had, in this service, one thousand men, and did his endeavour to cultivate a friendship with the eastern Indians. The remainder of this year was spent in remonstrances from the colonies, and ineffectual application for justice to the court of France.

Early in the year 1755, the French had a strong fleet, and a number of transports, getting ready for America. Notwithstanding these open avowals of their intention, to keep their encroachments at any rate, yet did the French ministry positively assert, that no hostilities were intended: Of this their ambassador, Mirepoix, seemed positive; and if his behaviour was not the effect of a concerted policy, he might be said to labour, in conjunction with our ministry, for an accommodation. The preparations at last were so notorious, that he was taxed with insincerity, and complained of being imposed.

imposed on by his own court. He went over to expostulate with the French ministry; they referr'd him to the king, who sent him back with fresh assurances of friendship: All this looked too like a political farce; for he had hardly arrived at St. James's, before notice came, which might be depended on, that a French fleet was ready to sail from Brest to Rochfort, with a number of land forces. Upon which, the alarm was taken, a warm press ensued; eleven ships of the line, and one frigate, with six thousand men on board, besides guard ships and cruizers, were fitted out for the defence of our coasts. These sailed under admiral Boscawen, on the 23d of April; but it was now known, that twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with plenty of warlike stores, and between three and four thousand men, were ready to sail from Brest under Macnamara. Upon this, admiral Holbourn was ordered to join Boscawen with six ships of the line and one frigate; a number of ships were put in commission, and something like resentment began to appear. It was the sixth of May when Macnamara sailed, but he soon returned with nine of his largest ships; the rest kept on their course to America, under the command of M. de la Mothe.

The people of England were under no little concern for the squadrons under Boscawen and Holbourn, as they might be attacked with advantage separately; but the enemy was not to seek them, their proper business being to make good their encroachments, and to strengthen their colonies. In the mean time, all Europe was in suspense about the fate of both squadrons. The preparations for war in England went vigorously on; but the French court hoped that hostilities would be forborn, out of tenderness to Hanover, which his majesty had thoughts of visiting soon. Mirepoix affected still to talk peaceably, and it was made no secret of to him, that admiral Boscawen had orders to fall upon the French ships. On which he made a declaration in his master's name, *That the first gun which was fired should kindle all Europe into a flame.* This was the master-stroke of their policy; and doubtless his majesty had some struggles. A war was in a manner begun, in which, though Hanover had no concern, it might possibly be the greatest sufferer. The event was uncertain. The king was now arrived at an age, when business and hurry were far from being desirable, especially in the turn it took from the irresolution of an unsettled ministry; but he magnanimously resolved to expose his dominions

nions in Germany, rather than give up our rights in America, where the conduct of France had made reprisals necessary. Admiral Boscawen had orders to commence hostilities. He had a safe passage to Newfoundland, where his station was appointed. In a few days, M. de la Mothe, with his fleet arrived at the Banks; but the thick fogs, which are usual there, prevented the squadrons from seeing each other. When the French were informed that the English expected them, a part of the squadron, and most of the troops, with baron Dieskau, made the best of their way up the river St. Lawrence: Another part escaped through the Straits of Bellisle, not without imminent danger: A third, which was separated in the fogs, fell in with the English fleet off Cape Race, on the tenth of June.

These were the Lys and the Alcide, sixty four gun ships, but the Lys mounted only twenty two; a third escaped. Captain, now lord Howe, in the Dunkirk, and captain Andrews, in the Defiance, bore down upon them, when the Alcide hailed the Dunkirk with, *What Admiral?* Admiral Boscawen, replied the Englishman; says the Frenchman in return, *I know admiral Boscawen, he is a friend of mine.* — *You, sir!* returned captain Howe, *What is your name?* Hoquart, said the Frenchman. This was all the ceremony; for the flag being disputed, the Dunkirk fired, and the engagement began; when after a sharp contest, yard-arm and yard-arm, both ships were taken, with eight companies of land forces on board, and eight thousand pounds for the payment of the troops. It is said, that the ships fought so near, that a man killed on the French yard-arm, fell on board the English, and that mr. Hoquart, had the misfortune of being twice before a prisoner to admiral Boscawen.

At the beginning of this year, general Braddock had been sent to America with some troops, to command in chief. He had orders to attack fort Du Quesne, and drive the French from the Ohio. For this purpose he assembled two thousand two hundred men at fort Cumberland, about one hundred and thirty miles from fort Du Quesne. He began to move forward on the 10th of June, leaving the garrison under the command of colonel Innes. There were great difficulties to surmount in a country rugged and unknown, across the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods, and narrow passages. They proceeded from a place called the Little Meadows, in two divisions; at the head of the first, consisting of one thousand four hundred men, was the general, with most of the ammunition and cannon; the second, with provisions, stores

and baggage, was led by colonel Dunbar. The unhappy general was too confident of success; being informed, at the Great Meadows, that the enemy expected to be reinforced with five hundred regulars, he pushed on with such dispatch, that he greatly fatigued the soldiers, tired the horses, and left the rear division forty miles behind. The French, consisting of about two hundred at their fort on the Ohio, gave no obstruction to this march till the ninth of July; when about noon, our troops passed the Monongahela, being then distant seven miles from fort Du Quesne. Not dreaming of an enemy, at once the alarm was given by a quick and heavy fire upon the van-guard, under lieutenant-colonel Gage. Immediately the main body advanced, in good order and spirits to sustain them. Orders were then given to halt and form into battalions. At this juncture the van falling back in confusion, a general panic took place, and all endeavours to rally the soldiers were ineffectual. The general and officers exerted themselves to no purpose; neither entreaties nor threatnings, could avail. In this confusion, they fired at random, and wounded those parties, which were advanced for the recovery of the cannon. This disorder continued for three hours, though there was not an enemy to be seen. A retreat was now sounded, that the waggons might be preserved; these were surrounded for this purpose; but the enemies fire being again renewed on the front, and left flank, the whole army took to flight, leaving behind them the artillery, provisions, baggage, and military chest, together with the general's cabinet, containing his papers, military instructions, &c. So great was the panic, that it was impossible to stop the soldiers flying, in the utmost disorder, for three miles from the place of action, where about one hundred began to make a more regular retreat. The enemy's strength was never known with certainty; and it is doubtful, if any of them were killed; for few were seen by our men, being covered by stumps and fell'd trees: But great was the slaughter of our people, and many officers sacrificed their lives, exposing themselves bravely; those of highest rank suffered most. The general, after having five horses shot under him, received a wound in the right arm and lungs, of which he died in four days. His secretary, eldest son of major general Shirley, a gentleman of great hopes, was killed on the spot by a shot through the head. Colonel Sir Peter Halket was killed, and several gallant officers. The loss was estimated at seven hundred killed and wounded; about a third of the whole army.

To what cause this defeat was owing, is in part seen above. To despise an enemy, is almost as dangerous, as to fear him.

However,

However, the news of this disaster was variously canvassed, and sometimes with a warmth which threatened a future breach between the regular and provincial troops. The officers charged the men with cowardice; but in a representation these made to Mr. Shirley, by order of the crown, they apologized for their conduct, alledging they were harassed by duties unequal to their numbers, and dispirited for want of provisions, which they had not time to dress; that their water (the only liquor they had, and of a bad quality) was scarce; that the provincials had disheartened them by decrying the European method of fighting against the Indians, and their officers would hear of no other; that Mr. Braddock flighted the friendly Indians, and refused their assistance, who were most likely to discover the enemy, from their knowledge of the country and method of fighting. Certain it is, they foretold, that this army would be ruined. The Virginian rangers were also made to serve as regulars in rank, though fittest to be employed as scouts. In short, this, and every other step necessary to prevent surprize, was neglected, and the whole army left to the conduct of three or four guides, who, unused to encounters, were likely to fly on the first alarm, when they were most wanted to give a knowledge of the country; which is of the utmost consequence to a general, either in time of action, or when a retreat is found necessary.

General Braddock, to great personal bravery, added a high notion of honour and military discipline. Respected by his officers, he was hated by the men, who since he took the command, had been harassed with unnecessary duties. A punctilious exactness in guards, parades and exercise, is very useful to troops, otherwise unemployed, as it prevents gaming and drinking, with other extravagances; it may be of service in the field, where a country is inhabited, to prevent maroding, or desertion. But in the wilds of America, nothing of this could be apprehended. The general knew himself superior; all that the service required, was to guard against surprize, and keep the men in spirits. To be a commander it requires genius: This only can point out when to vary from general maxims.

Besides this expedition of general Braddock to fort Du Quesne, there were three others concerted by general Shirley, on whom the chief command had devolved by general Braddock's death. The first, under his own direction, was intended to reduce Niagara, a fort which commands the Iroquois's country; but he met with so many difficulties, and the season was

so far advanced, when they arrived at Oswego, the nearest of our forts on that rout, it was judged improper to attempt any thing on that side.

But the second expedition succeeded, by which the French were driven from their encroachments in Nova-Scotia. The assembly of Massachusetts-bay were hearty in the cause, and raised, early in the spring, a body of troops. These were transported to assist governor Lawrence in that service. Accordingly, towards the end of May, a large detachment was sent out under lieutenant-colonel Monckton; and some frigates under the command of captain Rous, were dispatched up the Bay of Fundy, to give assistance by sea. The troops, upon their advancing to the river Massaguash, found themselves opposed by a number of French regulars, some of the old French settlers, who had rebelled against us, together with Indians in the French interest. Some of these were posted in a block-house, with cannon mounted on their side of the river, in number about four hundred and fifty; the rest occupied a strong breast-work of timber, as an outguard to the block-house. Our troops attacked the breast-work so vigorously, that in about an hour's time, the enemy fled, and left them in possession of it. Upon this, the garrison deserted from the block-house, and left the passage of Massaguash river open. Our little army, advancing from hence, attacked the French fort, Beausejour, called so from it's pleasant situation. It was on the twelfth of June, when the siege commenced, with such a furious bombardment, that the garrison capitulated on the sixteenth, though they had twenty-six pieces of cannon mounted, and plenty of ammunition. The terms granted were, That the regulars should be carried to Louisbourg, and the French inhabitants be pardoned, as they had been forced into the service. Monckton changed the name of this fort to that of Cumberland; and the next day attacked another fort on the river Gasperau, which runs into bay Vert. This fort he carried, and found here a large quantity of provisions, with stores of all kinds; it being the chief magazine for furnishing both the Indians and rebel French in this country, with arms, ammunition, and whatever they wanted. The Colonel next proposed to reduce the fort at St. John's river mouth; but the French abandoned it, demolishing, as far as the time would permit, what works they had raised there.

In this whole expedition, we had only twenty men killed, and about as many wounded: Thus solid tranquillity was restored to Nova Scotia, the disputes concerning whose limits had first embroiled the two nations, and was the country where hostilities had been first committed.

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An expedition to Crown-point was the third object which general Shirley had in view. This was entrusted to the care of general Johnson, now deservedly raised to the dignity of a baronet. He was nephew to the late sir Peter Warren, and born in Ireland. His uncle, while captain of a twenty gun ship, and stationed at New-York, married a lady, who was a native of that city. Soon after he purchased large tracts of land in that colony, and sent to Ireland for his nephew, then about eighteen years of age, whom he put in possession of a considerable part of it, lying contiguous to the Mohawk's country. There he learned the language and customs of those Indians, often joining their ceremonies for the renewal of treaties; but affects yet to speak by an interpreter, as it is found more agreeable to them, and consistent with his public character on the part of England. By a constant residence there, he has improved wild, woody lands, into rich farms, with indefatigable labour. He now expected to enjoy himself in a neighbourhood of wealthy farmers, and industrious tradesmen, all his own tenants, who were invited hither by him first; and from the lowest circumstances, had risen to what they were, by his counsel and liberality: Such was their situation, when they were summoned by their benefactor, to defend their all; and they willingly entered themselves among the provincial troops, which were raised, and disciplined in a hurry, for this expedition.

The bulk of these were assembled from the northern provinces, with which he set out. About the latter end of August he arrived at the south side of lake George. Scarce had he pitched his camp before some of the Indians, whom he had sent out as scouts, brought advice, that they had discovered a party of French and Indians at Ticonderago, on the Isthmus between lake George and lake Champlain. This served as an advanced post to cover Crown-point; but no works were yet begun.

It would have been proper to have secured this pass first; and general Johnson, knowing it's importance to the reduction of Crown-point, wrote to general Shirley, how impatient he was for the battoes, a kind of boats, to come up, proposing to transport part of the troops by water, for the sole intention of occupying it; but the French took advantage of their delay, and found him employment at his own camp. Baron Dieskau had instructions from his court to reduce Oswego. He left Quebec for this purpose, and proceeded to Montreal, with the troops lately arrived from France. From
hence

hence he detached seven hundred men further up the river, intending to join them speedily with the remainder. Just before he had made the necessary preparations, advice came to Montreal, that we were forming an army at lake George, for the reduction of Crown-point. Upon which, M. de Vandreuil, ordered the baron to proceed through lake Champlain, for the defence of that fortress. Dieskau having waited some time for the coming up of our army, at length resolved to advance and fight them, supposing, if he proved victorious, our northern settlements might be desolated, and all communications with Oswego cut off. For the execution of this design he embarked at Crown-point with two thousand men, in battoes, and landed at South-bay, about sixteen miles from the English camp. By a prisoner, the baron was informed, that it was without lines, and destitute of cannon. This camp was near fort Edward, at the lake. Baron Dieskau advanced within two miles of the fort, and suddenly proposed to attack it. He had with him six hundred militia, and about the same number of Indians, with two hundred regulars. To animate the troops, he told them, *They were certain of success; that, on the reduction of this fort, the English camp must necessarily be abandoned, and their army dispersed in great disorder; that this would enable them to subdue Albany, and by starving Oswego, add to their conquest the absolute dominion of lake Ontario.* Whatever courage this harangue might inspire into the troops from Europe, the Canadian militia and Indians, fearful of our cannon, were utterly averse to the proposal; but declared a willingness to surprize our camp, where they expected nothing beyond musquetry. Thus disappointed in his design, Dieskau changed his rout, and marched against our main body at the lake. General Johnson, on the information of his scouts, had sent several messengers to fort Edward, with advice of the enemy's turning that way. One of these was, on his return, intercepted; the rest got back, and reported that they had discovered the enemy, about four miles to the northward of the fort. Next morning it was resolved to detach one thousand men, with some Indians, in order to harass the French in their retreat. Colonel Williams was commander in this service. He met Dieskau within four miles of our camp, and in an hour's time, a heavy firing was heard. Upon which, general Johnson sent a reinforcement, judging rightly, as the fire approached, that our men were retreating; for the enemy was superior. The succours came very seasonably; and the retreat was judiciously conducted, on the death of colonel Williams, by lieutenant-colonel Whiting, a Connecticut

sicut officer. General Johnson had fortified his camp with a breast-work hastily thrown up, and barricaded with felled trees. To this he had just got up some heavy cannon, when Dieckau appeared at the heels of our scattered parties. Luckily for them, he halted at about one hundred and fifty yards from the breast-work, opposite to our center, and began at that distance a regular fire of platoons. This was a capital error in the baron; for had he kept close to the detachments in the first consternation, he might easily have forced our lines, and gained a compleat victory; but by attacking at that distance, our men recover'd spirits, and as soon as the artillery began to play, he found himself deserted, both by the Canadians and savages, who all sculked in the swamps, or took to trees, and from thence fired on our flanks, with little execution. In the mean time, our heavy cannon, under the direction of captain Eyre, gauged the French regulars excessively; so that they were forced to extend themselves, in order to cover what ground they had occupied, and their fire became sensibly weaker. The baron yet encouraged them to make one vigorous effort on our right, himself leading them on, without being able to penetrate. They now retired in great disorder; for our troops, quitting the breast-work, attacked them in their turn. What soldiers yet staid with Dieckau, were soon dispersed, and he was found resting on a stump, being wounded thro' the leg and both hips. General Johnson had received a wound, which was just bound up, when the baron was brought to his tent, being assisted by the ablest surgeons, and protected by the general from the threats of our Indians, who had lost forty of their stoutest warriors, and one of their chiefs, in the first engagement. This was old Hendrick, a sachem, or king, of the Mohawks, and a friend to the general. This valiant Indian, and his followers, fell furiously fighting with their tomahawks, while our men retreated, and are said to have done considerable execution. The old sachem had a son on duty in the camp, and word being brought that his father was killed, he set up the death-cry after their manner, and clapping his hand on his heart, swore, *That his father was yet living there, and he would revenge his death.* This threatening he was for executing on Dieckau, and it required no little address to protect the one, without exasperating the other.

Revenge is certainly a ruling passion with these savages. Among civilized nations, it is only harboured in weak minds; but with them it is the result of an early institution; for they want not examples of courage and generosity;---of which, take an instance in the late action:

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One of our planters, at the right of the breast-work, had his piece burst, just as the enemy made their last desperate push on that side; desirous of being farther serviceable, he cried out aloud, *What shall I do without a piece?* An Indian, that stood next him, generously said, *You may take mine;* and without tarrying for an answer, threw it down; then, as if he would shew how easy it was to get another, leapt over the barricade, and disarming a French soldier, shot him dead on the spot. He then retreated with the same agility, and took his former station at the breast-work. This way of charging suddenly, from a place of security, and regaining it as dexterously, is what particularizes the Indian method of fighting. But to return.

The French being routed, and their general taken, the Canadians and Indians retired in small parties, and not being sufficiently dispersed, they halted about four miles from the camp, where the first engagement happened in the morning. Here they entered into a consultation, and even meditated a second attack. Why the enemy were not further pursued, when the rout became general, does not appear, and general Johnson has been blamed on this account; but it is to be considered, that Braddock's defeat was yet fresh in their minds; that considerable loss had been sustain'd in the morning, which made such an impression, that nothing but the general's precaution in fortifying his camp, saved the troops: Indeed, what more could be expected, from a militia, raised in a hurry, and scarce disciplined, than barely to repel those invaders, who had ruined an army of regulars.

Whatever resolution the enemy might take to retrieve their loss, a body of English appearing soon put an end to their consultations. This was a party of about two hundred men, which had been detached from fort Edward, to strengthen our camp. These were commanded by the brave captain McGinnes. The enemy immediately attacked him; finding himself much overpowered, and scorning to turn his back on a beaten enemy, he took a resolution of fighting his way through them. This he effected with great order and firmness. They were roughly handled, but the enemy had little to boast of; for reckoning on the destruction of this whole party, the Canadians and savages exposed themselves more than their custom is; while our men faced about, keeping up at the same time regular flanking fires. In short, they compleated what had been left unfinished, and arrived at the camp unbroken. The brave captain died of the wounds he had received in this rencounter, after having signalized himself, by a courage and conduct,

conduct, that would have done honour to a superior officer. Upon the whole our loss was considerable; for colonel Williams, major Ashley, six captains, several subalterns, and a number of private men were killed, besides Indians. Little of this loss was sustained at the attack on the camp, where few were either killed or wounded, and not any of note slain, but colonel Titcomb. On the other hand, the enemy's loss must have been very considerable, as they obstinately persisted in the attack on our lines. Baron Dieskau reckoned it at one thousand men.

Although the French had been thus defeated it was judged too late in the year to attempt the reduction of Crown-point; as in that case it would have been necessary to erect a fort at the place where our camp then was, in order to secure a communication with Albany, which was the only place from whence they could expect reinforcements of men, or fresh supplies of ammunition and provisions. For this reason, soon after the engagement, the army set out on its return; but they first erected a little stockaded fort, at the end of lake George. A small garrison was left there, which soon fell a prey to the enemy, as our whole army, being country militia, was likely to disperse and return home. This happened, in fact, on their arrival at Albany. Thus ended this expedition, which, though honourable for the general and provincial troops, had no great consequences, except reviving the spirits of our people, who had begun to despair on Braddock's defeat. General Johnson was created a baronet and rewarded with five thousand pounds, honourably voted in parliament; but the French had still the superiority, and the frontiers of our provinces lay exposed to their incursions.

During these transactions in America orders were issued by the British ministry to seize all the French ships, whether outward or homeward bound; and so successful were the British cruizers, that before Christmas three hundred of the French merchantmen, and eight thousand of their sailors were brought into our ports.

This spirited order is ascribed to Mr. Fox, and nothing could be better timed, after negotiations were found fruitless: It was, however, bad management to let the cargoes of such ships, as had perishable commodities, spoil before they were disposed of. Some that were of fish stunk so abominably that the vessels were carried out to sea and sunk; whereas, if all had been disposed of, the money might have been reserved till the French would hearken to reason; our merchants might have had good pennyworths; the loss

too would have fallen on the French, where it ought; and we might have reaped the whole advantage. However, the depriving them so early of their prime sailors, was what they never could get over; and though at first they made a bustle, as if they would return it in kind, our ministry had got the lead and could play this game out with them. For this reason the Blandford man of war, which was taken by the French, was so politely restored; but this we made light of.

It was now they had recourse to their old play, of embroiling us on the continent of Europe. They resolved to engage us in Germany, in order to draw our attention from the disputes in America. For this intent they secured some of the petty sovereigns of which that empire is composed; in particular the elector of Cologne, who consented to their erecting magazines in his country. His late majesty, then in Germany, instantly perceived that this step was aimed at his Electoral dominions, and began to provide for their security. In June he entered into a subsidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, whereby that prince was to furnish twelve thousand men for four years; these were to be employed in case Hanover or England should be attacked; but the more immediate defence of the former was the object of this treaty. He also required from the court of Vienna those auxiliaries stipulated by treaty; but these were refused, on pretence that the dispute between Britain and France concerned America only, and made no case wherein assistance could be claimed by that alliance.

About this time the foundation was laid of a subsidiary treaty with Russia, but it was not signed till the last of September. The Czarina agreed to furnish fifty-five thousand men, and forty or fifty galleys, if his Britannic majesty's dominions in Germany should be attacked, in consideration of paying five hundred thousand pounds *per annum* for four years; this was stipulated in the fifth article. The seventh was levelled at the king of Prussia, in these remarkable words "Considering the proximity of the countries where the diversion will probably be made, and the facility of subsisting her troops in an enemy's country, Russia takes upon herself, during such a diversion, the subsistence and ordering of the said troops by sea and land."

By the eleventh article it was agreed, that the Russian troops should have all the plunder they took from the enemy.

The King of Prussia, by some means, got a copy of this treaty in a short time after it was signed, and resolutely declared, that he would oppose with all his force the introduction

duction of foreign troops into the empire. France, at that time preparing to invade the electorate, heard this declaration with astonishment; she sent to Berlin the Duke de Nivernois, and tampered with that monarch to retract this declaration; but the manner in which her ambassador was received seemed to denote a resolution in the king to make good his declaration.

None could determine now, whether the French and Prussians had not formed a design of entering Hanover together. His Britannic Majesty resolved to defend it. The King of Prussia's conduct was to be suspected, and at this time he was far from being acceptable to the people of Britain as an ally. His majesty was convinced that the Russian troops, intended to make a diversion on the Prussians, would be some time in marching, as they must come through Poland; whereas the French and Prussians were ready, and might quickly overrun the Electorate. Thus this seeming resource for its defence was deem'd ineffectual, and all Europe confirmed how difficult it is for Britain to protect that distant country. We had nothing now to do but renounce the treaty with Russia, and buy off an evil which we could not remedy. This produced the treaty with Prussia.

When the treaties which had been made with Russia and Hesse Cassel were known publicly in England, they were far from being well received. This new continental system was inveighed against by the public, and strong opposition was meditating against it in parliament. Even some of the ministry at the head of the finances refused to answer the first draught for money which came over from Russia, because it could not be made value received till the treaty was approved in parliament, neither had the Russian troops yet done any service. It was apprehended likewise that this treaty was inconsistent with the act of settlement.

The parliament met in November, when there appeared a strange jumble of parties in both houses, as well as in the ministry. The king ordered the late treaties to be laid before them; whereupon mr. Pitt and his adherents declared strongly against connexions with the continent. In this they were seconded by mr. Legge, then chancellor of the Exchequer, who was soon after succeeded in his employments by sir George Lyttleton. The honourable Charles Townshend, and several others of superior rank, appeared on the same side of the question. Sir Thomas Robinson had been secretary of state some time; he, tho' a well-meaning man and in particular favour with the king, found himself oppos'd by

the whole interest of Mr. Pitt, then paymaster general, and Mr. Fox, secretary at war.

It was on all hands concluded that the public business could not go on if another secretary was not appointed; because Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though they agreed scarce in any thing else, united in thwarting Sir Thomas in all his measures. Their abilities, though of opposite kinds, were generally acknowledged to be great, and, by their superior influence in the House of Commons, they had often obstructed the secretary's designs. It is no uncommon thing in England, especially of late, to see gentlemen who hold considerable places under the government opposing, upon every slight occasion, a secretary of state, however he is supposed to know and speak the sentiments of his master. Sir Thomas, sensible of their abilities and interest in the house, prudently resigned on the 10th of November; and the seals of his office were conferred on Mr. Fox, who was succeeded by Lord Barrington, as secretary at war. The popular party were yet excluded, and to this the confusion which followed in the ensuing year was doubtless, in some degree, owing. These alterations being made, the treaties were taken under consideration, and approved by a majority of both houses; but the members were far from being unanimous. They next provided for the service of 1756, by voting 100,000*l.* as a subsidy to Russia, 54,140*l.* to the landgrave of Hesse, and 100,000*l.* to the elector of Bavaria. These sums were granted after several warm debates. As the ministry were afraid of an invasion from France, our army was augmented with ten new regiments of foot, and eleven troops of light horse, added to so many regiments of dragoons. There were fifty thousand seamen, including nine thousand marines, voted, besides above thirty four thousand foldiers; all which, with other expences and deficiencies in the foregoing year, swelled the supplies to the sum of 7,229,117*l.*

The fears of an invasion engrossed all the attention of our ministry, which were weak if seriously entertained; and if they were assumed to serve a present end, they were much overacted. It is allowed the chief persons in trust wanted confidence in one another, as well as countenance from the public. They were confounded too by the stratagems of the French, who marched a body of troops along their sea-coasts towards the close of the year 1755, and early this year gave out, that they would invade us. At the same time they were fitting out a fleet at Toulon for the conquest of Minorca. The pretence of an invasion gave them an opportunity of executing

ting this; yet the British agents, residents, consuls, ambassadors, &c. at different places, on and near the Mediterranean, sent repeated advices to London, from August 1755, to April following, that there was a grand armament equipping at Toulon, consisting of twelve or fifteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports for troops encamped in that neighbourhood. These were said to be a considerable body, and the squadron being victualled for only a short time, with other particular circumstances, made it very probable that this armament was destined for Minorca.

Of this consul Banks, at Carthage, gave the first intelligence, in his letters dated the 20th and 27th of August, advising, that the masters of some French vessels from Toulon, reported there were in that port twenty-six ships of the line, of which eighteen had been new built since the last peace; that these, with twelve frigates and several smaller vessels, were fitting out, besides six new ships on the stocks, all which were of the line, and some were ready for launching; that he had received intelligence of a hundred and eighty battalions of troops marching into Roussillon with great diligence; that these were destined against Minorca, and were to be transported thither in merchants ships at Marseilles, and convoyed by all the men of war from Toulon.

Sir Benjamin Keene, our ambassador at Madrid, on the first of September transmitted to sir Thomas Robinson an authentic list of the Toulon fleet; and consul Banks, in January 1756, added to the first advices, that he was informed, by some whose intelligence from France might be depended on, that sixty battalions were ordered into Provence, to be commanded by the Duke de Richlieu; that between sixty and seventy vessels were detained for transports at Toulon, whither they continued to send all the sailors they could procure as soon as they arrived at other ports.

Though the French all this while affected to talk of an invasion, to be headed by the Pretender, and conducted by the Duke de Belleisle, all persons of judgment, as well here as in the ports of the Mediterranean, agreed that such a project would be attended with insuperable difficulties, and could only be given out to alarm the British ministry and divert their attention. At this time there was neither the means, nor even the appearance of a sufficient embarkation, to alarm England with a descent. Notwithstanding this, it appeared by the disposition of our fleets at that time, that the British ministry were chiefly attentive to guard the channel, and did nothing for the security of Minorca. There was advice indeed, so early as the
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beginning of December last, which allowed that some proposals for an invasion had been made in France, and even that the Pretender had been at Fountainbleau in a private consultation; but that every thing mentioned in order to an invasion was rejected, for this reason chiefly, because it was impossible to collect a sufficient number of transports in any one or two ports; neither was the Brest fleet in any condition to convoy them, and there was the greatest probability of falling in with the English, either going or returning; in which case the design would be frustrated, and the whole trade of France at the mercy of England; therefore, all reports of an invasion appeared to be a feint. This was confirmed by another letter on December the tenth to lord Holderness, where it is observed that there was no dispositions on the coast of the British channel for an embarkation.

Notwithstanding this authentic intelligence his Majesty sent a message to the House of Lords on the twenty-third of February, signifying, that he had received repeated notices, from different places and persons, that a design had been formed by the French to invade Britain or Ireland, and that the great preparations of land-forces, ships, artillery, &c. in the ports opposite our coasts, had not only caused him to augment his forces, but that he had likewise ordered over a body of Hessian troops: Still nothing was mentioned of the accounts concerning Minorca.

However informations kept arriving, and among the rest one from general Blakeney, all agreeing, that the reduction of that place was absolutely intended, and what was done in consequence. The ministry could not be ignorant of the garrison's deficiency in officers and men, and it's danger of falling a prey to so powerful an attack, for want of a fleet to cover the island from such an attempt; yet all this could only procure an order, and that so late as the eighth of March, for ten ships of the line to hold themselves in readiness for the Mediterranean.

The equipping of these ships was clogged with such directions, that their departure was delayed to the seventh of April for want of men. Admiral Byng was named to the command of this squadron; an officer never distinguished for courage; nor was he beloved in the navy. He was ordered to hasten the fitting out of the Stirling-Castle, to compleat her number of hands in preference to any other ship, but not to meddle with the men on board the Nassau, Torbay, Essex, Prince Frederick, and Greyhound; these being wanted to cruize off Cherburgh, in order to intercept four frigates and forty merchant men,

men, drove in there from Havre. On this account the Mediterranean was left unguarded, if we except two or three considerable ships and frigates, till the month of May; neither did general Blakeney's officers, who were in England on leave of absence, embark till it was too late.

In short, all Europe observed, with astonishment, the supineness of our ministry, who all the while were severely censured at home.

Admiral Byng failed on the seventh of April with ten ships of the line, not in the best condition, weakly manned, and without hospital or fire ship to attend them. They had on board a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, between forty and fifty officers, and near one hundred recruits to reinforce general Blakeney. The admiral's instructions were very intricate; he was, when he came to Gibraltar, to enquire whether a French squadron had passed the Streights; if they had, and it was probable they were gone to America, he was to detach rear-admiral West after them. Now it is natural to ask, Supposing Byng had been joined with two or three ships at Gibraltar, which was but a meer chance, what force could he detach after the enemy's fleet, and have sufficient strength left to cover fort St. Philips, or fight the French fleet, which, from the best advice, consisted of 12 ships of the line? Admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the second of May, where he was joined by Capt. Edgecumbe, with one ship and a sloop, who brought advice that the French had actually made a descent on Minorca, and that a fleet of thirteen men of war, under Galissoniere, was cruising off the island, which had forced him off that station.

The admiral demanded, agreeable to his instructions, a detachment from the garrison of Gibraltar, equal to a battalion. Upon which lieutenant general Fowke, the governor, called a council of war, to deliberate on two successive orders, which he had received from lord Barrington, as they appeared inconsistent and equivocal. The majority were of opinion, that no troops should be put on board the fleet, except a detachment to supply the deficiency in captain Edgecumbe's little squadron, he having left a number of men with captain Scroope to assist in the defence of fort St. Philip. Mr. Byng being forced to clean and water was delayed some time, and resolved to communicate these transactions to the lords of the admiralty, which he did in the following letter.

SIR,

SIR,

RAMILIES, *in Gibraltar-Bay,*
May 4, 1756.

THIS comes to you by express from hence by the way of Madrid, recommended to sir Benjamin Keene, his majesty's minister at that place, to be forwarded with the utmost expedition.

I arrived here with the squadron under my command the second instant in the afternoon, after a tedious passage of twenty-seven days, occasioned by contrary winds and calms, and was extremely concerned to hear from captain Edgcumbe (who I found here with the Princess Louisa and Fortune sloop) that he was obliged to retire from Minorca, the French having landed on that island, by all accounts, from thirteen to fifteen thousand men.

They sailed from Toulon the tenth of last month, with about one hundred and sixty, or two hundred sail of transports, escorted by thirteen sail of men of war; how many of the line I have not been able to learn with any certainty.

If I had been so happy to have arrived at Mahon, BEFORE THE FRENCH HAD LANDED, I flatter myself, I should have been able to have prevented their getting a footing on that island; but as it has so unfortunately turned out, I am firmly of opinion, for the great force they have landed, and the quantity of provisions, stores of ammunition of all kinds they brought with them, that the throwing men into the castle, will only enable it to hold out a little longer, and add to the numbers that must fall into the enemies hands; for the garrison in time would be obliged to surrender, unless a sufficient number of men could be landed to dislodge the French, or raise the siege; however, I am determined to sail up to Minorca with the squadron, when I shall be a better judge of the situation of affairs there, and will give general Blakeney all the assistance he shall require; tho' I am afraid all communication will be cut off between us, as is the opinion of the chief engineers of this garrison (who have served in the island) and that of the other officers of the artillery, who are acquainted with the situation of the harbour; for if the enemy have erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbour (an advantage scarce to be supposed they have neglected) it will render it impossible for our boats to have a passage to the Salle port of the garrison.

If I should fail in the relief of Portmahon, I shall look upon the security of Gibraltar as my next object, and shall repair down here with the squadron.

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The Chesterfield, Portland and Dolphin are on their passage from Mahon for this place. The Phoenix is gone to Leghorn by order of captain Edgecumbe for letters and intelligence; and the Experiment is cruizing off Cape Pallas, whom I expect in every hour.

We are employed in taking in wine and compleating our water, with the utmost dispatch, and shall let no opportunity slip of sailing.

Herewith I send you inclosed a copy of such papers as have been delivered me, which I thought necessary for their lordships inspection. I am, SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

J. B.

To the Hon. J-----n G-----d, Esq;

This letter was carefully suppress'd, it not being proper that the people should know that he already found his arrival too late, and his force too weak; that the ships were foul and their stores short; indeed, this letter laid the foundation of his ruin; for people were now told, *That he was a coward, and would not fight.*

On the 8th of May he left Gibraltar, and was joined by captain Hervey off Minorca. On the 19th he arrived within sight of Mahone, and seeing British colours still flying on St. Philip's castle, with several bomb batteries playing on it from different quarters, where the French banner was displayed, he detached captain Hervey to the harbour's mouth with a letter to general Blakeney, importing, that the fleet was come to his assistance; but before this could be executed, the French fleet appeared to the south-east. Upon which captain Hervey was recalled, and likewise some frigates which had been out to make observations; and orders were given to form the line of battle. About six in the evening the enemy to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which were large, advanced in order; but about seven tacked with a design to gain the weather gage. Mr. Byng, to secure that advantage as well as to make sure of the land-wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola.

May the 20th, at break of day, the enemy could not be seen; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of our fleet a signal was made to chace them. One escaped, but the other being taken, had on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about one hundred private soldiers, part of six hundred, which had been sent out in tartanes the day before to

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reinforce

reinforce their fleet; which soon appearing, the line of battle was formed on both sides. About two admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind, and engage. At this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that rear admiral West finding it impossible to comply with both orders, he bore away seven points from the wind with his division, and then falling down upon the enemy, attacked them with such impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were soon driven out of the line. Had he been properly supported by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have gained a compleat victory; but the other division not bearing down, and the enemy's center keeping their station, rear admiral West could not follow his advantage, without running the risk of having his communication with the rest of the line cut off. In the beginning of this action the Intrepid, of Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging that she could not be managed, and drove on the next ship in position; a circumstance which obliged several others to throw their sails aback, which, by filling the contrary way, hindered them from running upon her, or one another. This confusion retarded the van's going down; and it is certain, that mr. Byng, in a capital ship of 90 guns, made little or no use of his artillery, but kept aloof, either from an over-acted observance of discipline, or want of courage. When his captain proposed to bear down on the enemy, he replied with great composure, *That he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spaniards off Toulon, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire which he could not sustain.* But the admiral was not for acting, unless with the line entire; and under pretence of rectifying the disorder which had happened among the ships, he hesitated so long and kept at such a distance, that he was never properly engaged, though he had a few shot in his hull. M. Galissoniere seemed equally averse to continue the engagement. Part of his squadron had been fairly pushed out of the line; and though he was rather superior to the English in weight of metal and number of men, yet he did not chuse to abide the consequence of a closer fight. He therefore took the advantage of Byng's confusion, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been beaten, and they drew off together. Our squadron chased; but the French ships being clean they could not come up with them, which gave the enemy an opportunity to retire at their leisure, while the English admiral tacked, in order to keep advantage of the wind; but in the morning they were clear out of sight.

Admiral

Admiral Byng now lay too with the fleet, Mahone being distant ten leagues. He then sent out cruizers for the ships that were missing; these having joined him he made an enquiry into the condition of the squadron. The number of killed was forty-two, among which was captain Andrews, of the *Defiance*. About one hundred and sixty-eight were wounded; and three of the capital ships were so much damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea with any prospect of safety. A great many seamen were sick, and there was no vessel which could be converted into an hospital-ship for these and the wounded. In this situation the admiral called a council of war, at which he permitted the land officers to be present. He represented to them, that we were much inferior to the enemy in weight of guns and number of men; that they had the advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence also they were refreshed, and could be occasionally reinforced; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve the garrison of St. Philip's, and that they ought to make the best of their way to Gibraltar, as this might require immediate protection. The council concurring in these sentiments he directed his course accordingly. Had our squadron been defeated this would certainly have been a prudent measure; but as the engagement was little more than a skirmish, he might have fought the enemy a second time, and regulated his conduct by the issue of that event. His return to Gibraltar can no way be justified; for though that fortress was weak, it could not be supposed that Galiffoniere would leave his station off Minorca, where he had a siege to cover, and act on the offensive against Gibraltar, while there was an English squadron in the Mediterranean. We have before observed that Mr. Byng had not sufficient force for the relief of St. Philip's; yet it is certain he might have landed what little force he had, and that he ought to have attacked the French fleet with vigour on their retreat, as so little damage had been done to his squadron, and when the advantage of wind and weather were in his favour. In short, it is probable had he done this the enemy's fleet might have been ruined, and ours might have rode victorious in the harbour of Mahone, and prevented, by short cruizes, those supplies of heavy artillery and ammunition which arrived afterwards, and were necessary to continue the siege. Add to this, the garrison must look upon themselves as betrayed, or that our fleet was ruined; whereas the discouragement would have been on the enemy's side if we had only entered the harbour; the absent officers and recruits might have come seasonably to relieve a

garrison too slender for such numerous defences; and our brave seamen have since convinced the world that they could occasionally take part with the soldiers, even in the most dangerous and difficult attacks, and where they were greatly exposed: Whereas fort St. Philip, being furnished with subterranean communications between the works, the men were less exposed than ordinary, and suffered most from want of rest, and being harrassed with continual duty.

For this and other reasons, it must be allow'd, that Mr. Byng paid no regard to the distress of his countrymen; that his conduct upon the whole, as well as during the engagement, was scandalous, and that his retreat to Gibraltar had all the appearance of cowardice.

As soon as advice came to England, that the French army was landed in Minorca, a resolution was taken to declare war; which was accordingly done in form, importing, "That since the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, the usurpations and encroachments made on the British territory had been notorious;---That his Britannic majesty had, in divers serious representations to the court of Versailles, complained of these repeated acts of violence and demanded satisfaction; which, notwithstanding the most solemn promises, was denied on frivolous pretences;---That hostilities were committed in the year 1754, by a body of French under an officer bearing the French king's commission, on the River Ohio, in North America;---That under pretence of settling what was in dispute, they had trifled with and amused the court of London, till they had strengthened themselves in those parts, and added to their encroachments;---That in consequence of the necessary measures on our part to counteract so dangerous a design, the French ambassador was recalled, Dunkirk new fortified, and troops marched to the sea-coasts, threatening England with an invasion;---That though the King in order to prevent this, had given orders to seize the French shipping, he had hitherto contented himself with detaining the captures and preserving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to condemn them. But it became evident from the hostile invasion of Minorca, that France was proceeding to the greatest extremities, and that his Britannic majesty was necessitated to depart from that moderation he had hitherto observed. A declaration of war followed in the usual form, and safe protection was promised to such subjects of France residing in Great Britain and Ireland, as should behave themselves peaceably."

Early in June, the French King declared war in his turn, with some bitterness, but great art in the expression. He threw a shade over the first rise of hostilities, referring to a memorial,

rial, containing a summary of the facts which related to the matter in dispute, delivered to the courts of Europe. "He insisted that the English commenced hostilities in North America first, and afterwards on the French navy and merchants ships, to the great interruption of commerce;---That his subjects detained in England were harshly treated;---That our court had imposed on his ambassador when hostilities were actually projecting;---That they caballed with other courts to engage them against France, while he did not even require the succours stipulated by treaty;---That while the English continued taking his ships, he had released an English frigate and other ships, which might convince all Europe of the ambition, avarice and jealousy of one court; and the honour, justice, and moderation, of the other;---That the vague imputation of France invading England, was a falsehood calculated to give a colour for detaining his ships, for that Dunkirk was not fortified, nor a battalion marched to the sea-coast, till two of his men of war were taken."

In short, the most Christian king taxes his brother Monarch with downright piracy, perfidy, cruelty and deceit; a charge the more injurious, if we consider that the accusers were well acquainted with the falsehood of their imputations, and infamous for the practice of those very arts they pretended to expose; for nothing could be urged against the court of London, but the omission of mere forms with an enemy, who had previously concerted and committed the first hostilities. This was a fact laid down and insisted on in our declaration, but cunningly slipped over in theirs.

We have seen the manner in which admiral Byng retired from before Mahone, let us now attend the French in the siege of St. Philip's; beginning our account from the 12th of April, being the time their squadron sailed from Toulon. This armament consisted of thirteen capital ships of the line and seven frigates, with about eleven thousand men in transports, who were commanded by the duke de Richlieu. They landed on the eighteenth, and on the twenty-fourth appeared before the castle of St. Philip, the chief fortress in the Island of Minorca. General Blakeney sent a letter to the duke de Richlieu, to require a reason for his coming there; and had for answer, *That he was come to reduce the Island, by way of retaliation for the losses France had sustained in the capture of ships by the English.*

On the twelfth of May the operations of the siege commenced, with the erection of some batteries on cape Mola, a point of land too distant from the fortress to do execution; and the

French

French general found he was so exposed to the fire of the garrison, that he thought proper to change his method of attack, and make his advances on the side of St. Philip's town. Here he opened several batteries, which kept an incessant fire on the castle.

On the 17th, the British fleet appearing, so elevated the garrison that they redoubled their efforts, and destroyed many of the enemy's works. Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to embark in a little boat with six oars, in order if possible, to speak with the admiral. He passed the enemy's batteries through a discharge of cannon and musketry without harm; but when he got out to sea, he perceived the squadron at too great a distance, and two of the enemy's light vessels pursuing him. Upon which he resolved to return back, and was relanded without harm. This is sufficient to shew that a communication with the garrison was practicable. Next day Galissoniere returned to his station off the harbour's mouth, which greatly damped the spirits of our men; and in the evening intelligence was received by a French deserter, that the British fleet had been defeated in an engagement with the French. This deserter might be politically dispatched for that purpose: However this was soon confirmed by bonfires in the French camp, and other tokens of joy, which they were under no concern to keep secret.

The brave garrison thought themselves betrayed, or at least deserted. They had no reason to look on this descent of the enemy as a surprize, but a formed design; of which timely notice was given to our court, together with a state of the garrison. A person must be in their situation to judge of their sentiments. Notwithstanding this mortification they resolved to acquit themselves with honour, and kept up their spirits, hoping the English squadron would be reinforced and return to their relief. They remounted cannon where the carriages had been disabled; they removed them occasionally to places whence it was judged they could do the greatest execution; they repaired breaches, restored works, and laboured incessantly, and with great alacrity, though almost surrounded with the French batteries, when their embrasures for the guns were beat one into another, and the parapet walls destroyed; so that they fought exposed, not only to the cannons and mortars, but even to musketry which fired on them without ceasing from the windows and houses in St. Philip's town. By this time they were invested with an army of twenty thousand men, and plyed incessantly from sixty-two battering cannon, with twenty-one mortars and four howitzers, besides the small arms.

arms. Nevertheless the loss of men was inconsiderable, the garrison being mostly under cover of the subterranean works, which were cut out of the rock, and proof against shells or shot. The governor made as much use as possible of this advantage to shelter his men, ordering the guards to parade under cover, and to relieve the several posts by these communications; and that part of the garrison, not upon duty, was ordered to take shelter here and keep as close as possible. Notwithstanding these advantages the works were too extensive, and the men too few, to make sallies. Besides the governor was confined to such operations as might annoy the enemy from his batteries, and save his scanty numbers for the defence of the place in a last extremity. He ordered a select number of soldiers to be disciplined in the management of artillery, many of whom became expert gunners, and did great service in the defence of the place. Councils of war were held frequently, at which the engineers always attended, and were consulted with; so that the batteries of cannon and mortars being well served did considerable execution.

The duke de Richlieu hearing that a strong reinforcement was dispatched to join the British fleet, and sensible of some practices at the French court to his disadvantage, pushed the siege with all imaginable vigour. By the 27th of June a practicable breach was made in one of the ravelins, and the other out-works were damaged to such a degree that a general assault was that night resolved on. Accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, the French advanced to the assault on all quarters from the land-side; at the same time a strong detachment in boats attempted to force the harbour and gain St. Stephen's creek, in order to storm fort Charles, and second that attack on fort Marlborough from the land-side, which is farthest detached from St. Philip's of all the out-works. They advanced to the attack on all sides with great intrepidity, and the duke de Richlieu is said to have led them up to the works in person.

Such an assault could not but be attended with great slaughter. They were plying, as they approached, with grape-shot, musketry and hand granadoes. Several mines too were sprung with great effect, so that the out-works were almost covered with dying and dead bodies. But the French persevered in the assault with great resolution, and at length made a lodgment in the Queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged with their batteries. Lieutenant-colonel Jefferies was hastening to relieve the party posted here with a hundred men, when he found the French in possession; he endeavoured to retreat, but

was

was taken prisoner with fifteen of his men. Major Cunningham, then in company, though he had the good fortune to escape, was wounded in the right hand with a bayonet, and the piece being discharged at the same time, so shattered his arm as entirely to disable him. These two officers had been the governor's chief assistants during the siege; and it was more disheartening at this juncture to lose them.

The enemy having made themselves masters of Anstruther's and the Queen's redoubts beat a parley, desiring permission to bury their dead and remove the wounded. This request was granted with more humanity than discretion; for the enemy took advantage of this interval to strengthen their lodgments with more men, and penetrated into the subterranean passages, which opened a communication with all the works.

During this short cessation general Blakeney called a council of war, to deliberate on the present state of the fort and garrison, when the majority declared for a capitulation. It was urged, that the works were in many places ruined, the guns dismounted, and the garrison quite exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching; that the enemy being in possession of the subterraneans, which communicate all under the castle, the governor must divide his handful of men to defend these should he stand another assault, or hazard the body of St. Philip's, while he was busy in maintaining its extensive out-works.

These considerations, and the want of intelligence, after Byng's retreat with the squadron, made the governor propose terms of capitulation, as the best way to preserve the remains of a garrison, which from the first seemed as given up to the insults of France. In this case it was thought obstinacy to contend with their fate, though some proposed to hold out longer, but they were over-born by the majority; and it was happy for them that the governor gave up the place, as the enemy landed 4000 men, with more ammunition, the day after he capitulated.

A conference ensued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garrison, in consideration of their spirited defence; and it must be acknowledged the siege was pushed on with great vigour by the French, during which they lost five thousand men. The garrison did not lose above one hundred out of three thousand, their utmost number at first. They had all the honours of war allowed, and safe conduct to Gibraltar.

Upon the receiving the account of Byng's conduct, admiral Hawke had been dispatched to take the squadron under his command, and relieve Mahone. It was known that Hawke would

would fight; and it is very probable the garrison would have been relieved if he had been sent at first. But the appointing him now had one good effect; it appeased the public murmurs. As people took great liberties with some characters, it was necessary to appease their resentment by making sacrifices. Accordingly admiral Hawke was ordered to send Byng home, and lord Tyrawley was sent with the admiral to supersede general Fowke, in his government of Gibraltar.

The admiral when he arrived off Minorca found it was taken, and the French fleet retired to Toulon. He cruised about, with no little vexation, for some time, and suffered considerably from tempestuous weather, while the enemy's navy lay safe in their own harbour, and France was ringing with extravagant encomiums on the conquerors of Minorca.

When admiral Byng arrived in England he was ordered under a strong guard to Greenwich hospital, where he was confined till officers could be spared from the Mediterranean to attend his trial by a court martial. On the other hand, general Blakeney, when he arrived at London, met with a gracious reception at court, and was created an Irish baron. Some envious strictures passed on his conduct, which were treated by the public with contempt, as his character in the service had been long established. Besides his age and infirmities pleaded strongly for their indulgence, especially when it was considered, that he had suffered, under many discouragements, the hardships of a siege, while so many were absent from their posts, and too little concerned for the honour of their country. The public might on these accounts be led to patronize the governor, the bravery of whose conduct was echoed through the nation; as was Byng's cowardice and bad conduct. There was something in his character so opposite to that of a tar, that he was sure to suffer in the public esteem, as the general was to be a gainer, when their behaviour came to be compared. A question which mr. Byng asked on his trial, will confirm this parallel. It was to this effect, "Whether entering the harbour of Mahone, in order to land what reinforcements he had on board, for the relief of St. Philips, would not have been dangerous?" Upon which the old general replied, "That he had seen much service in his time, but knew of none in which there was not danger to be apprehended." A reply which at once does honour to his memory, and serves to mark his military character; as the admiral's query betrayed a weakness of the head as well as want of courage.

The people being uneasy at this time, addresses were brought from all parts of the kingdom, lamenting the late miscarriages, praying,

praying, that the authors might be brought to justice, and hinting at the ministry's bad conduct, in not sending timely and effectual succours to Minorca.

Till admiral Byng's trial could come on, it was necessary to appease the public ferment by a sacrifice of some kind or other. General Fowke was the destined victim, although his conduct, integrity in the public service, as well as his amiable private character, had hitherto distinguished him as a man of worth and honour. He did not seem singled out as the object of private pique in the ministry, or the people's resentment; but it was the general's misfortune to receive orders which contradicted each other, and at the same time seemed to leave a discretionary power. The reader will see this by comparing the orders, which are inserted entire for that purpose, in the following letters.

To Lieutenant-general Fowke, or, in his absence, to the Commander in Chief in his Majesty's garrison of Gibraltar.

SIR,

War-Office, March 21, 1756.

I AM commanded to acquaint you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there: and in case you shall apprehend, that the French threaten to make any attempt upon his Majesty's island of Minorca, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison, equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison, to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, at the disposition of the admiral.

I am, SIR, your humble Servant,

BARRINGTON.

To Lieutenant-general Fowke, &c.

SIR,

War-Office, April 1, 1756.

IT is his Majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison the women and children belonging to lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To Lieutenant-general Fowke, &c.

SIR,

War-Office, May 12, 1756.

I Wrote to you by general Stewart, *if* that order is *not* complied with, *then* you are now to make a detachment of seven hundred men out of your own regiment and Guise's; and also another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon. But *if* that order *has* been complied with, *then* you are

are to make only one detachment of seven hundred men, to be commanded by another lieutenant-colonel and major, and to send it to Mahon; and you are also to detain all such empty vessels as shall come into your harbour, and keep them in readiness *for any farther transportation of troops*. I have also his royal highness the duke of Cumberland's commands to desire, that you will keep your garrison as alert as possible, during this *critical time*, and give such *other assistance* as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or *endanger* your own garrison.

These letters general Fowke received at one and the same time, from the same hand. The third order, not mentioning that it set aside the first, left it in full force. The word *if* at the beginning, and other parts of the last letter, seemed to imply that the other order was discretionary. Upon the whole, the general thought them inconsistent, and called a council of war, not to deliberate whether he should obey them, but how he should understand them. By the first letter lord Robert Bertie's regiment was ordered into garrison; by the second general Fowke was to receive the wives and children, who might well be supposed to disembark with the regiment; except it intended that the governor should conclude from hence, that the regiment should continue on board for the relief of St. Philip's, and the useless mouths stay behind. Agreeable to this, the third order supposes that regiment to be on board. The query then was, whether a detachment, equal to a battalion, was to embark together with the corps on board for the relief of St. Philip's, or a detachment only, and take lord Robert Bertie's into garrison. It is to be considered that after two hundred and seventy-five men had been spared to strengthen captain Edgcumbe, the whole garrison amounted but to two thousand five hundred and thirty-one men, and the ordinary duty required eight hundred and thirty-nine. These were not sufficient for three reliefs, and this too at a time when the order supposed Gibraltar in danger. This determined the council of war to send no troops to the relief of Minorca. But, supposing the orders positive, if he had sent seven hundred men according to the first, and the same number according to the third, what would he have had left for the defence of Gibraltar? And what could be the meaning of that order to detain all empty vessels for a further transportation of troops? Unless he was to embark the whole garrison and abandon the place?

General Fowke alledged these inconsistencies on his tryal, and the discretionary power implied. The court was divided equally, whether to acquit or condemn him; and the president, who, in such case has the casting voice, gave it against him. His sentence was to be suspended for a year from his Majesty's service. This might be a well-timed severity; for after all, supposing he had a discretionary power and orders to detach more than what seemed consistent with the present state of his garrison, he ought to have sent some relief; as Minorca was actually besieged, and troops could sooner be re-placed at Gibraltar, than forwarded to St. Philip's from England.

Though it was not pretended that any part of our national disgrace was owing to this neglect. The King, being chagrined with so many blunders, dismissed the general entirely from his service; but his present Majesty has graciously restored him to his former rank in the army.

Admiral Byng's tryal did not come on till late in the year, of which we shall take notice in due course. In the mean time let us look back to the war in Asia, where hostilities had commenced between the East-India companies of both nations, before the two crowns were engaged. These they were drawn into, by taking different sides in the disputes of the natives on the coast of Coromandel.

This is an extensive territory, situated between the tenth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude, bounded on the north, by the kingdom of Golconda; on the east, by the bay of Bengal; on the south, by the principalities of Marivia and Madura; and by the kingdom of Bijnagar Proper, on the west. It was formerly subject to the great Mogul, and still properly makes a part of his empire; but he was so weakened during his wars with the famous Kouli Khan, that he has not since been able to assert his sovereignty over this country; and, by reason of it's great distance from his capital, he appoints deputies, or, as they are here called, Nabobs, to govern the provinces of this remote territory. These they hold under vassalage, paying tribute to him, and doing homage for their several governments; but they have almost grown independent, and frequently make war with one another without consulting the Mogul. In these disputes the European nations are often concerned; for the Nabobs, whenever they go to war with one another, request the assistance of such as are settled nearest their dominions; and though they have the Mogul's consent to trade and make settlements here, they cannot be well secured without courting the friendship of these petty sovereigns, to whose disputes the war in those parts took it's rise.

In the year 1749, a deposed Nabob formed a conspiracy to cut off his rival, who had been made Suba or Deputy of Arcot, by the Mogul, after the other had been deposed to make way for him. This was Sundah Saheb, who, with his allies, had recourse to m. Dupleiux, the French governor of Pondicherry, to assist in this enterprize. He, on their making a cession of Velure and its dependencies, of forty-five villages, situated near Pondicherry, assisted them, and Anawedi Khan was defeated and slain, in July this year, on the plains of Arcot, and Sundah Saheb reinstated in the government of that province.

After the battle Mahommed Ali Khan, son of the late Nabob, fled to Tiruchinapalli, a place of strength to the southward, where he supplicated assistance from the English, who, in commiseration of his distress and partly in gratitude to his father, sent him a supply of men, money, and ammunition, under the direction of major Lawrence, an officer of known experience and valour. In consequence of this supply some advantages were gained over the enemy, who retreated; but nothing of importance was effected.

Soon after Mahommed Ali Khan went in person to Fort St. David, soliciting more powerful succours. He alledged that his interest and that of the English was the same, inasmuch, that if their enemies were suffered to proceed in their conquests, they would be obliged to quit the whole coast; and it seemed indeed as if the French were meditating a plan to extirpate our people. Upon this a strong reinforcement was sent under captain Cope. Nothing material however was attempted, and the English withdrawing their auxiliaries, the French with Sundah Saheb fell upon the unfortunate prince at the head of his little army, and gained a compleat victory. Thus Mahommed Ali Khan finding himself unable to withstand the French forces and those of Sundah Saheb united, once more retired to Tiruchinapalli, and, in the most pressing terms, again solicited aid from the English. That this might the more readily be granted, he ceded to them some commercial points which had been long in dispute. They, in return, entered into a treaty of alliance with him, promising to assist him with all their force. Upon this captain Gingen, a Swiss officer in the company's service, was dispatched on the 5th of April, 1751, with four hundred Europeans and a large train of artillery, to watch the motions of the enemy. At the same time captain Cope was sent to put the strong post of Tiruchinapalli into a good state of defence.

At Volconda, about seventy miles from Fort St. David, the two armies came in sight of each other, and continued in that situation

situation for some time; during which captain Gingen did all in his power to bring on an engagement, but could not effect it. However frequent skirmishes happened, and those commonly ended to the advantage of our company's troops and those of their Indian allies. At length the Indian governor of Volconda declaring for the French, obliged captain Gingen to break up his camp and take shelter under the walls of Tiruchinapalli. The enemy followed with all the expedition possible, and menaced that place with a siege; but either they wanted spirit to prosecute their design, or their force was insufficient to push it with vigour, so that it came to nothing.

About this time mr. Clive came upon the stage, and soon changed the face of the company's affairs. He had lately accepted the office of purveyor to the army; but on hearing it was proposed at St. David's to make a diversion in the province of Arcot, he offered to serve as a volunteer, without pay, if the command of the troops destined for that expedition might be given to him. Accordingly on the 22d of August, 1751, he embarked with one hundred and thirty Europeans, on board the Wager East-Indiaman, for Madras. Here he was joined by eighty more. With this small force he marched across the country and took possession of Arcot without opposition. The principal inhabitants expecting to be plundered, offered him a considerable sum to spare their city, which he generously refused, at the same time issuing a proclamation, that such as chose to stay should receive no injury, and the rest might have free leave to depart with their effects of all kinds, except provisions, for which he promised to pay the full value. By this prudent behaviour he entirely gained their confidence, and they afterwards contributed not a little to his success.

Such was the secrecy and dispatch with which this bold enterprize was executed, that the enemy's first intimation of it, was mr. Clive's being in possession of their capital. Sundah Saheb immediately detached his son, with a considerable force from his army, at that time before Tiruchinapalli. The people, who had left the city, hearing of these motions, gratefully turned back, and gave the most exact account of all the enemy's designs; so that mr. Clive had time to put himself in a posture of defence and prepare for a vigorous resistance. About the middle of September, 1751, the enemy appeared; and by the 24th, the place was completely invested. The operations commenced, and the siege was carried on under the direction of European engineers; but a fortnight farther was elapsed before they could effect a breach. By the 13th of October they

they had made two, which were thought practicable; but such was their indolence, that when they were prepared to storm, mr. Clive had filled and repaired them so effectually, that they were as strong as any part of the walls. Notwithstanding this they resolved to attack both breaches and one of the gates at the same time. This they proposed to force open with elephants. Mr. Clive, having received intelligence of the time when the assault would be given, had so well provided against it with masked batteries, that he repulsed them with great slaughter on all sides, especially at the breaches, from which few of the assailants returned alive. On their repulse, mr. Clive made a bold and well-conducted sally, which did the enemy considerable mischief; and the day after captain Kirkpatrick arrived with a party of Europeans, and two thousand Maharattas. Immediately on his appearance the siege was rais'd, and the enemy retired with the greatest precipitation, leaving all their artillery behind and most of their baggage.

Captain Kirkpatrick, with his Europeans, were left in Arcot, while mr. Clive, with his men, reinforced by the Indians, marched in pursuit of the enemy. They had taken their rout north-ward, having reached the plains of Arani, when he overtook them. These plains were distant about one hundred and fifty miles from our post at Tiruchinapalli. On the 3d of December, 1751, about noon, both armies prepared to engage. Mr. Clive, at the head of the English, began the attack, with such impetuosity, that Sundah Saheb's troops were not able to stand the shock; but, by reason of their superiority in numbers, the battle was fought with great obstinacy for the space of five hours; at the end of which victory declared for mr. Clive, and the Nabob's forces were totally routed. This victory was obtained at a trifling expence; for our whole loss, in Europeans, did not exceed twenty men; that of the Indians is seldom taken notice of. Next day the city of Arani surrendered, and soon after, that of Kajevaran. Such were the effects of a battle, which struck terror into the enemy and the country round, so that it might be said to submit rather through a dread of the conqueror than the force of his arms. The enemy being now dispersed, mr. Clive returned in triumph to Fort St. David.

Here he had not resided many months before orders came for him to take the field again. For the enemy, on hearing that he was retired, drew together what force they were able to collect, and advanced to a place called the Mount, about nine miles from Madras. Here the gentlemen of the factory
had

had their country-seats, which the enemy had just begun to plunder when they received notice of mr. Clive's approach. His very name was already sufficient to terrify their troops and put a stop to their depredations. They made a precipitate retreat, but took a sudden resolution of surprizing Arcot, which m. Duplieux had informed them was only garrisoned with twenty men and a serjeant. Mr. Clive saw their intention, and, being reinforced with one hundred and sixty men from Bengal, followed close at their heels, so that they were forced to abandon their design and to encamp, for the present, at Koverypauk, till hearing their intelligence was false concerning the garrison of Arcot, they resolved to give the English battle. On collecting their force for that purpose, it amounted to near three thousand four hundred men, with eight pieces of cannon; whereas mr. Clive's did not make one third of that number. The enemy quitted their intrenchments on the first of March, 1752, and advancing to the attack, took possession of a rising ground on the right, with fifty Europeans. Their front consisted of fifteen hundred Seapoys, with one hundred and thirty French. The left was composed of fifteen hundred horse. Such was their numbers and thus situated, when mr. Clive advanced to the attack within push of bayonet, having reserved his fire till that time, when such execution followed, that the enemy, in despair of keeping the field, retreated to their intrenchments. Mr. Clive attacked them with great resolution, but without success. At length, when it was almost dark, while the victory remained doubtful, from the rawness of our troops, unused to the attack of intrenchments, he very happily thought of an expedient which answered his expectation, and gave him the victory. This was executed by sending a detachment round, to fall upon the rear of their battery. The design succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectation, being executed with as much resolution as it was conducted with skill. The English entered with bayonets fixed, and firing a platoon, so disconcerted the enemy, that their right wing to a man surrendered themselves prisoners of war, while the left thought themselves happy to escape under cover of the night. This battery had been defended by forty-eight Europeans, fourteen Topasses or Portugueze, natives of this country, and a body of Indians. The greatest part of these were killed and the rest taken prisoners. The victors took eight pieces of cannon, nine tumbrils of powder, and one hundred and eighty stand of arms. All these advantages were gained with the loss of only twenty-seven men killed and wounded. This victory proved such a decisive blow to the enemy, that they were not able any more to make head in the province of Arcot. The

The brave and fortunate captain Clive, for notwithstanding these signal instances of generalship, he was no more, had now fulfilled his orders, and prepared for his return to Fort St. David. He arrived there on the 11th of March, and found major Lawrence just arrived from England, ready to take the command as the superior officer.

On the 17th of the same month they set out together, at the head of four thousand Europeans and one thousand seapoys, well furnished with provisions for the relief of captain Gingen, who had been blocked up since last year at Tiruchinapalli, by a strong party of Sunda Saheb's troops. They proceeded without interruption till the 23d, when coming near Koyl-Addi, they found a strong party of the French, who had thrown up an intrenchment with a view to stop their march. The two parties cannonaded each other, but without any considerable execution on either side. The English now continued their march, and the enemy laid an ambuscade to intercept them; but it was prevented by the vigilance of major Lawrence, who with the convoy and all the troops arrived at Tiruchinapalli, in full spirits.

The enemy, having notice of his approach, abandoned the blockade, and mr. Lawrence, having heard that they were retreating with all speed to Pondicherry, detached captain Clive with four hundred Europeans, a party of Maharatta horse and some Seapoys, to cut off their retreat. The captain dislodged a strong body of Indians which had taken post at Sameaverem, a fort and pagoda, or Indian temple, situated on the river Kalderon. Upon this Sundah Saheb threw himself with thirty thousand men into Syrinhaman, an island formed by a branch of the Kalderon. The French at Pondicherry were no sooner certified of these transactions, than they sent the count d'Antevil with a strong party to the Nabob's assistance. He had by this time advanced to Utatur, about twenty miles north from Syrinhaman, where mr. Clive went to give him battle, but the French commander thought proper to retire. Upon this mr. Clive returned, and though much fatigued, he immediately invested the fortified temple. The commanding officer and several others, attempting to force their way at one of the gates, were killed, and the rest surrendered, to the amount of sixty-six Europeans and a considerable number of Seapoys. He proceeded to reduce another of these ecclesiastical fortresses, much stronger than the first; which he was obliged to attempt by regular approaches. The enemy soon hung out a white flag, as a signal to capitulate, just when mr. Clive advanced to storm a breach which had been made. Our Indian

dian troops, ignorant of what was meant by the flag, mounted the breach, and pushed on the attack, which so terrified the garrison that twenty-four French threw themselves into the river, and all perished except four; an accident neither the captain's activity nor his humanity could prevent. The remainder, consisting of seventy-two men and three officers, were made prisoners. These officers made great complaints that their flag had not been regarded; yet certain it is, that the captain's clemency saved them all from being cut to pieces in the heat of the action. To this imputation m. Duplieux added another, that mr. Clive had treated the French in general with contempt; but this was disproved by the accounts of the very prisoners themselves.

After the reduction of this place, mr. Clive marched for Golconda, where he was told d'Antevil had retreated. He arrived there on the 31st of May, 1752, in one day's march and a half. D'Antevil had chose an advantageous situation with great precaution, and intrenched himself for more security. Some Maharatta horse were ordered to attack the town immediately, which they did so effectually as to drive the French out in confusion, obliging them to abandon their cannon. In the mean time mr. Clive forced the intrenchments with a terrible slaughter; but being unwilling to destroy them entirely, sent out a flag of truce himself, on which a capitulation was agreed on, and d'Antevil, with three other officers, were to be prisoners at large on their parole of honour, for one year. The troops were likewise made prisoners till regularly exchanged, but the money and stores were delivered to the late Nabob's son, whom we supported in his pretensions to succeed his father.

During these successes major Lawrence marched to Syrinhaman, to reduce Sundah Saheb. He had for this purpose all the troops which were left at Tiruchinapalli, with a good body of Indians, sent by the Nabob of Tanjour, who had now taken part with Ali Khan. The island was so effectually blockaded, that Sundah Saheb's provisions were exhausted, and his men reduced to the last extremity for a supply. In this emergency he attempted to corrupt Mona Ji, general of the Tanjour forces, who pretended to connive at his escape; but that officer no sooner had him in his power than he secured him, and the Nabob of Tanjour ordered his head to be struck off and exposed in the camp. This happened on the same day that captain Clive took Golconda. On the third day of June, mr. Law, who commanded in Syrinhaman, surrendered himself, with all his European troops and the Indian allies, prisoners of war. There

There were found in the island forty pieces of battering cannon, ten mortars, and a quantity of warlike stores.

This train of successes secured to Mohammed Ali Khan the government of Arcot, and obliged m. Duplieux to recall his regulars from the Indian army, in order to act upon the defensive. Since the French found all their projects baffled, they now sued for a peace, which the Nabob of Arcot was inclinable to grant, provided it was to the satisfaction of his English allies. Peace, though desirable to both sides, did not however take place, but a truce ensued by a cessation of hostilities, and advice having been transmitted to the French East India company of these disasters, they, in 1753, sent m. Duvelar, as commissary, to restore peace; in consequence of which a convention was concluded, whereby it was stipulated, that the two companies should reciprocally restore the territories taken by their troops on either side since 1748, except certain districts which the English retained for the convenience of their traffic. It was likewise agreed, that the Nabobs advanced by the influence of either should be acknowledged by both, and for the future neither should interfere with the disputes which might arise amongst the princes of that country. Major Lawrence having the sole command of the troops, mr. Clive was at liberty to revisit his native country, and for this he prepared; but our Indian allies could scarce bear the thoughts of parting with him. They considered themselves as indebted to him for the preservation of their territories and effects. They regarded him as a father; while his heroic actions, military skill and activity, joined to great modesty and humanity, made them almost deify him. The Mogul solicited him to enter into his service, with an offer of great advantages; but all this could not make him sacrifice that regard for his country which hitherto had been uppermost. He set sail for England in a short time after the peace was agreed on between the companies. On the 10th of November, 1753, he arrived at Plymouth, from whence he proceeded to London; and having waited on the East-India company with an account of his transactions for their service, he was presented by the chairman with a very rich sword set with diamonds. For this honourable mark of their gratitude he politely returned thanks, assuring the company of his service whenever it should be required for the future; and he effectually fulfilled his promise. For six months had scarce elapsed, since his departure, before hostilities were recommenced between the two companies, who from auxiliaries seem now to have become principals.

Mr. Clive's presence was now wanting; for major Lawrence was far from being popular in that country: He was of a haughty and austere disposition, though in other respects an officer of experience, resolution and conduct. He gained some advantages over the enemy, and one of consequence, in September 1753, near Tiruchinapalli, where he was encamped. Here the French offered him battle, which he accepted, and gave them a total defeat. The action was short, and with little loss on our side; while that of the enemy amounted to six hundred men killed, wounded and prisoners, together with ten pieces of cannon, which fell into our hands. Soon after there was another skirmish, in which we were worsted. Upon advice of these transactions the East-India company solicited Mr. Clive's service again; and he set sail for that country in the quality of governor of Fort St. David.

Major Lawrence repaired what little damage he had sustained, and proceeded to act with vigour. He obtained divers advantages, which in all probability would have terminated the war to his satisfaction; for a treaty was on foot, when it was interrupted by the starting up of a new enemy, who took part with the French against our India company.

This was the Nabob of Bengal, or more properly, Suba of the three provinces, Bengal, Bahir and Orixá. He had but lately aspired to this dignity, which he obtained by a fortunate boldness. Of a fickle and inconstant disposition, both in the administration of his government and with respect to his favourites; destitute of principle and void of sentiment; disliking without a cause, and adding cruelty to his hatred; but his prevailing passion was avarice. This thirst of heaping up riches was encouraged by some of his courtiers, who were either afraid of him or solicitous of being in his favour. They hinted, that the English settled in his dominions were immensely rich; that he might, under colour of granting them favour and protection, extort large sums from them; and, that in case of refusal he had force sufficient to crush them. Animated by this advice he resolved to attack the English, though, at this time, they had not given the least affront nor shewn the least dislike to his person or government. It was sufficient with him that they were accounted rich. On the 4th of June, 1756, he seized the little town of Cassimbuzar, on the Ganges, at a small distance from Muxadavad, his capital. Here he declared his design to extirpate the English, and with this view began his march along the banks of the river to Calcutta, which is the principal English settlement there. To colour his pretensions he gave out, that the governor,
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Mr. Drake, had protected one of his subjects whom he had outlawed for conspiracy against him. We shall not enter into the merits of this pretence; it is sufficient to remark that he appeared before Fort William, at Calcutta, with an army of 70,000 men, a force not likely to be assembled on account of a fugitive. The governor, terrified at the appearance of such an army, and, unfortunately for the garrison, being one of the people called quakers, could not in conscience make any resistance, but abandoned the fort, with many of the principal persons in that settlement, who saved themselves and their most valuable effects on board the ships. Notwithstanding this desertion, Mr. Holwell, the second in command, assisted by a few faithful friends, and the remains of a feeble garrison, bravely held out to the last extremity. On the 20th of June the fort was taken, and the garrison, consisting of one hundred and forty-six persons, being made prisoners, they were for that night, crammed into a close dungeon, called the Black-hole, where twenty-three only escaped being suffocated in one night's confinement. Mr. Holwell was among those who came out alive. The following letter, wrote by him, contains circumstances of as great distress, and as much cruelty, as perhaps human nature ever suffered. It gives a minute detail of this shocking barbarity, which must necessarily excite pity in the breasts of the most obdurate.

A Letter from J. Z. HOLWELL, Esq; to WILLIAM DAVIS, Esq;

DEAR SIR,

THE confusion which the late capture of the East-India company's settlements in Bengal, must necessarily excite in the city of London, will, I fear, be not a little heightened by the miserable deaths of the greatest part of those gentlemen, who were reduced to the sad necessity of surrendering themselves prisoners at discretion in Fort William (the English fort at Calcutta.)

By narratives made public, you will only know, that of one hundred and forty-six prisoners, one hundred and twenty-three were smothered in the Black-hole prison, in the night of the 20th of June, 1756. Few survived, capable of giving any detail of the manner in which it happened; and of these, I believe none have attempted it: for my own part, I have often sat down with this resolution, and as often relinquished the melancholy task, not only from the disturbance and affliction it raised afresh in my remembrance, but from the consideration
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of the impossibility of finding language capable of raising adequate ideas of the horrors of the scene I essay to draw. But as I believe the annals of the world cannot produce an incident like it, in any degree or proportion, to all the dismal circumstances attending it, and as my own health of body and peace of mind are once again, in a great measure, recovered from the injuries they suffered from that fatal night, I cannot allow it to be buried in oblivion; though still conscious, that however high the colouring my retentive memory may supply, it will fall infinitely short of the horrors accompanying this scene. These defects must, and I doubt not, will be assisted by your own humane and benevolent imagination; in the exercise of which, I never knew you deficient, where unmerited distress was the object.

The sea air has already had that salutary effect on my constitution I expected; and my mind enjoys a calm it has been many months a stranger to; strengthened by a clear, chearful sky and atmosphere, joined to an unusual pleasant gale, with which we are passing the equinoctial. I can now therefore look back with less agitation on the dreadful night I am going to describe, and with a grateful heart sincerely acknowledge, and deeply revere that Providence, which alone could have preserved me through that, and all my succeeding sufferings and hazards.

Before I conduct you into the Black-hole, it is necessary you should be acquainted with a few introductory circumstances. The Suba [Salajud-Dowla, viceroy of Bengal, Baker, and Orixá] and his troops were in possession of the fort before six in the evening. I had in all three interviews; The last in Dunbar [in council] before seven, when he repeated his assurances to me, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to us; and indeed I believe his orders were only general, that we should for that night be secured; and that what followed, was the result of revenge and resentment, in the breasts of the lower Jemautdaars, [an officer of the rank of serjeant] to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege. Be this as it may, as soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction, directed by the guard over us, to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched veranda or piazza, to the west of the Black-hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard; and just over against the windows of the governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this veranda, leading up to the south-east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade (where you will remember the two
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twenty-four pounders stood) were also drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted matches.

At this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us; to the right the armory and laboratory; to the left the carpenter's yard: though at this we imagined it was the cotta warehouses [the company's cloth warehouses]. Various were our conjectures on this appearance; the fire advanced with rapidity on both sides; and it was the prevailing opinion, that they intended suffocating us between the two fires: And this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half an hour past seven, of some officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the easterly curtain to the right of us, to which we apprehended they were setting fire, to expedite their scheme of burning us. On this we presently came to a resolution, of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death. But to be satisfied of their intentions, I advanced, at the request of messrs. Baillie, Jenks, and Revelly, to see if they were really setting fire to the apartments, and found the contrary; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only searching for a place to confine us in; the last they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

Here I must detain you a little, to do honour to the memory of a man, to whom I had in many instances been a friend; and who, on this occasion, demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of much higher rank. His name was Leech, the company's smith, as well as clerk of the parish: This man had made his escape when the Moors entered the fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would insure my escape, if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very little notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able; but told him, it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shewn to me; and that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would; but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time. To which he gallantly replied, *That then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me.*

To myself and the world I should surely have stood excused in embracing the overture abovementioned, could I have conceived what immediately followed; for I had scarce time to make him an answer, before we observed part of the guard
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drawn up on the parade advance to us, with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to rise, and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. The barracks, you may remember, have a large wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and a small parapet wall, corresponding to the arches of the veranda without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartment in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet wall; and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southermost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black-hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scymiters, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black-hole prison, there was no resisting it; but, like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the rest followed like a torrent, few amongst us, excepting the soldiers, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen: For if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces.

Amongst the first that entered, were myself, messrs. Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, ensign Scot, Revely, Law, Buchanan, &c. I got possession of the window nearest the door, and took messrs. Coles and Scot into the window with me, they being both wounded (the first I believe mortally.) The rest of the abovementioned gentlemen were close round about me. It was now about eight o'clock.

Figure to yourself, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.

What must ensue, appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours, the instant I cast my eyes round and saw the size and the situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door; for having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were in vain and fruitless.

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Observing every one giving way to the violence of passions, which I foresaw must be fatal to them, I requested silence might be preserved, whilst I spoke to them, and in the most pathetic and moving terms, which occurred, "I begged and intreated, that as they had paid a ready obedience to me in the day, they would now for their own sakes, and the sakes of those who were dear to them, and were interested in the preservation of their lives, regard the advice I had to give them. I assured them the return of day would give us air and liberty; urged to them the only chance we had left for sustaining this misfortune, and surviving the night, was the preserving a calm mind and quiet resignation to our fate; intreating them to curb, as much as possible, every agitation of mind and body, as raving and giving a loose to their passions could answer no purpose, but that of hastening their destruction."

This remonstrance produced a short interval of peace, and gave me a few minutes for reflection; though even this pause was not a little disturbed by the cries and groans of the many wounded, and more particularly of my two companions in the window. Death, attended with the most cruel train of circumstances, I plainly perceived must prove our inevitable destiny: I had seen this common migration in too many shapes, and accustomed myself to think on the subject with too much propriety to be alarmed at the prospect, and indeed felt much more for my wretched companions than myself.

Amongst the guards posted at the windows, I observed an old Jemautdaar near me, who seemed to carry some compassion for us in his countenance; and indeed he was the only one of the many in his station, who discovered the least trace of humanity. I called him to me, and in the most persuasive terms I was capable, urged him to commiserate the sufferings he was a witness to, and pressed him to endeavour to get us separated, half in one place, and half in the other; and that he should receive a thousand rupees for this act of tenderness. He promised he would attempt it, and withdrew; but in a few minutes returned, and told me it was impossible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promised him two thousand: he withdrew a second time, but returned soon, and (with I believe much real pity and concern) told me it was not practicable; that it could not be done but by the Suba's order, and that no one dared awake him.

During this interval, though their passions were less violent, their uneasiness increased. We had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perspiration so profuse, you can form no idea of it. This consequently brought on a ra-
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ging thirst, which still increased, in proportion as the body was drained of it's moisture.

Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. To obtain the former, it was moved to put off their cloaths: this was approved, as a happy motion, and in a few minutes I believe every man was stripped (myself, Mr. Court, and the two wounded young gentlemen by me, excepted.) For a little time they flattered themselves with having gained a mighty advantage: every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air, and Mr. Baillie proposed that every man should sit down on his hams: as they were truly in the situation of drowning wretches, no wonder they caught at every thing that bore a flattering appearance of saving them. This expedient was several times put in practice, and at each time many of the poor creatures, whose strength was less than others, or had been more exhausted, and could not immediately recover their legs, as others did when the word was given to rise, fell, to rise no more! for they were instantly trod to death, or suffocated. When the whole body sat down, they were so closely wedged together, that they were obliged to use many efforts, before they could put themselves in motion to get up again.

Before nine o'clock every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Our situation was much more wretched than that of so many miserable animals in an exhausted receiver; no circulation of fresh air, sufficient to continue life, nor yet enough divested of it's vivifying particles to put a speedy period to it.

Efforts were again made to force the door, but in vain. Many insults were used to the guard to provoke them to fire upon us (which as I learned afterwards, were carried to much greater lengths, when I was no more sensible of what was transacted.) For my own part I hitherto felt little pain or uneasiness, but what resulted from my anxiety for the sufferings of those within. By keeping my face between two of the bars, I obtained air enough to give my lungs easy play, though my perspiration was excessive, and thirst commencing. At this period, so strong a urinous volatile effluvia came from the prison, that I was not able to turn my head that way, for more than a few seconds at a time.

Now every body, excepting those situated in and near the windows, began to grow outrageous, and many delirious: "Water, Water," became the general cry. And the old Jemautdaar, before-mentioned, taking pity on us, ordered the people to bring some skins of water, little dreaming, I believe,

lieve, of it's fatal effects. This was what I dreaded. I foresaw it would prove the ruin of the small chance left us, and essayed many times to speak to him privately to forbid it's being brought; but the clamour was so loud, it became impossible. The water appeared. Words cannot paint to you the universal agitation and raving the sight of it threw us into. I had flattered myself that some, by preserving an equal temper of mind, might outlive the night; but now the reflection, which gave me the greatest pain, was, that I saw no possibility of one escaping to tell the dismal tale.

Until the water came, I had myself not suffered much from thirst, which instantly grew excessive. We had no means of conveying it into the prison, but by hats forced through the bars; and thus myself and messieurs Coates and Scot (notwithstanding the pains they suffered from their wounds) supplied them as fast as possible. But those, who have experienced intense thirst, or are acquainted with the cause and nature of this appetite, will be sufficiently sensible it could receive no more than a momentary alleviation; the cause still subsisted. Though we brought full hats within the bars, there ensued such violent struggles, and frequent contests to get at it, that before it reached the lips of any one, there would be scarcely a small tea-cup full left in them. These supplies, like sprinkling water on the fire, only serve to feed and raise the flame.

Oh! my dear Sir, how shall I give you a conception of what I felt at the cries and ravings of those in the remoter parts of the prison, who could not entertain the hope of obtaining a drop, yet could not divest themselves of expectation, however unavailing! And others calling on me by the tender considerations of friendship and affection, and who knew they were really dear to me. Think, if possible, what my heart must have suffered at seeing and hearing their distress, without having it in my power to relieve them; for the confusion now became general and horrid. Several quitted the other window (the only chance they had for life) to force their way to the water, and the throng and press upon the window was beyond bearing; many forcing their passage from the further part of the room, pressed those down in the way who had less strength, and trampled them to death.

Can it gain belief, that this scene of misery proved entertainment to the brutal wretches without? But so it was; and they took care to keep us supplied with water, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing us fight for it, as they phrased it, and held up lights to the bars, that they might lose no part of the inhuman diversion.

From about nine to near eleven, I sustained this cruel scene and painful situation, still supplying them with water, though my legs were almost broke with the weight against them. By this time I myself was very near pressed to death, and my two companions, with mr. William Parker (who had forced himself into the window) were really so.

For a great while they preserved a respect and regard to me; more than indeed I could well expect, our circumstances considered; but now all distinction was lost. My friend Baillie, messrs. Jenke, Revely, Law, Buchanan, Simson, and several others, for whom I had a real esteem and affection, had for some time been dead at my feet; and were now trampled upon by every corporal or common soldier, who, by the help of more robust constitutions, had forced their way to the window, and held fast by the bars over me, till at last I became so pressed and wedged up, that I was deprived of all motion.

Determined now to give every thing up, I called to them, and begged, as the last instance of their regard, they would remove the pressure upon me, and permit me to retire out of the window to die quiet. They gave way; and with much difficulty I forced a passage into the center of the prison, where the throng was less by the many dead (then I believe amounting to one third), and the numbers who flocked to the windows; for by this time they had water also at the other window.

In the Black-hole there is a platform [this platform was raised between three and four feet from the floor, open underneath; it extended the whole length of the east side of the prison, and was above six feet wide] corresponding with that in the barracks. I travelled over the dead, and repaired to the further end of it, just opposite the other window, and seated myself on the platform between mr. Dumbleton and captain Stevenson; the former just then expiring. I was still happy in the same calmness of mind I had preserved the whole time; death I expected as unavoidable, and only lamented it's slow approach, though the moment I quitted the window my breathing grew short and painful.

Here my poor friend mr. Edward Eyre came staggering over the dead to me, and with his usual coolness and good-nature asked me how I did? but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply. I laid myself down on some of the dead behind me, on the platform, and recommending myself to heaven, had the comfort of thinking my sufferings could have no long duration.

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My thirst grew now insupportable, and difficulty of breathing much increased; and I had not remained in this situation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was seized with a pain in my breast, and palpitation of the heart, both to the most exquisite degree. These roused and obliged me to get up again; but still the pain, palpitation, thirst, and difficulty of breathing increased. I retained my senses notwithstanding, and had the grief to see death not so near me as I hoped, but could no longer bear the pains I suffered, without attempting a relief, which I knew fresh air would and could only give me. I instantly determined to push for the window opposite to me; and by an effort of double the strength I ever before possessed, gained the third rank at it, with one hand seized a bar, and by that means gained the second, though I think there were at least six or seven ranks between me and the window.

In a few moments my pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing ceased; but my thirst continued intolerable. I called aloud for "WATER FOR GOD'S SAKE;" had been concluded dead; but as soon as they heard me amongst them they had still the respect and tenderness for me to cry out, "GIVE HIM WATER, GIVE HIM WATER!" nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drank. But from the water I found no relief; my thirst was rather increased by it; so I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event, and keep my mouth moist from time to time, by sucking the perspiration out of my shirt sleeves, and catching the drops as they fell, like heavy rain from my head and face: You can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them escaped my mouth.

I came into the prison without coat or waistcoat; the season was too hot to bear the former, and the latter tempted the avarice of one of the guards, who robbed me of it when we were under the veranda. Whilst I was at this second window, I was observed by one of my miserable companions on the right of me, in the expedient of allaying my thirst by sucking my shirt sleeve. He took the hint, and robbed me from time to time of a considerable part of my store; though after I detected him, I had ever the address to begin on that sleeve first, when I thought my reservoirs were sufficiently replenished, and our mouths and noses often met in the contest. This plunderer I found afterwards was a worthy young gentleman, in the service, Mr. Lushington, one of the few who escaped from death, and since paid me the compliment of assuring me, he believed he owed his life to the many comfortable draughts he had from my sleeves. I mention this incident, as I think nothing can give you a more lively idea of the melancholy
state

state and distress we were reduced to. Before I hit upon this happy expedient, I had, in an ungovernable fit of thirst, attempted drinking my urine; but it was so intensely bitter there was no enduring a second taste, whereas no Bristol water could be more soft or pleasant than what arose from perspiration.

By half an hour after eleven the much greater number of those living were in an outrageous delirium, and the others quite ungovernable; few retaining any calmness, but the ranks next the windows. By what I had felt myself, I was fully sensible what those within suffered; but had only pity to bestow upon them, not then thinking how soon I should myself become a greater object of it.

They all found now that water, instead of relieving rather heightened their uneasinesses; and "AIR, AIR," was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised against the guard, all the opprobrious names and abuse that the Suba, Monickhund, &c. [Rajah Monickhund, appointed by the Suba, governor of Calcutta] could be loaded with, were repeated to provoke the guard to fire upon us, every man that could, rushing tumultuously towards the windows, with eager hopes of meeting the first shot: Then a gentle prayer to heaven, to hasten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us, and put a period to our misery. But these failing, they whose strength and spirits were quite exhausted, laid themselves down and expired quietly upon their fellows; others, who had yet some strength and vigour left, made a last effort for the windows, and several succeeded, by leaping and scrambling over the backs and heads of those in the first ranks, and got hold of the bars, from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left sunk with the violent pressure, and were soon suffocated; for now a steam arose from the living and the dead, which affected us in all its circumstances, as if we were forcibly held with our heads over a bowl full of strong volatile spirit of hartshorn, until suffocated; nor could the effluvia of the one be distinguished from the other, and frequently, when I was forced by the load upon my head and shoulders to hold my face down, I was obliged, near as I was to the window, instantly to raise it again to escape suffocation.

I need not, my dear friend, ask your commiseration, when I tell you, that in this plight, from half an hour past eleven, till near two in the morning, I sustained the weight of a heavy man, with his knees in my back, and the pressure of his whole body on my head. A Dutch serjeant, who had taken his seat on my left shoulder, and a Topaz (a black christian soldier, usually

usually termed subjects of Portugal) bearing on my right; all which nothing could have enabled me long to support, but the props and pressure equally sustaining me all around. The two latter I frequently dislodged, by shifting my hold on the bars, and driving my knuckles into their ribs; but my friend above stuck fast, and, as he held by two bars, was immovable.

When I had bore this conflict above an hour, with a train of wretched reflections, and seeing no glimpse of hope, on which to found a prospect of relief, my spirits, resolution, and every sentiment of religion gave way: I found I was unable much longer to support this trial, and could not bear the dreadful thoughts of retiring into the inner part of the prison, where I had before suffered so much. Some infernal spirit taking the advantage of this period, brought to my remembrance my having a small clasp penknife in my pocket, with which I determined instantly to open my arteries, and finish a system no longer to be borne. I had got it out, when heaven interposed, and restored me to fresh spirits and resolution, with an abhorrence of the act of cowardice I was just going to commit: I exerted anew my strength and fortitude; but the repeated trials and efforts I made to dislodge the insufferable incumbrances upon me at last quite exhausted me, and towards two o'clock, finding I must quit the window, or sink where I was, I resolved on the former, having bore, truly for the sake of others, infinitely more for life than the best of it is worth.

In the rank close behind me was an officer of one of the ships, whose name was Carey, and who had behaved with much bravery during the siege (his wife, a fine woman, tho' country-born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the prison, and was one who survived.) This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my station. On my quitting, he made a fruitless attempt to get my place; but the Dutch serjeant, who sat on my shoulder, supplanted him.

Poor Carey expressed his thankfulness, and said he would give up life too; but it was with the utmost labour we forced our way from the window (several in the inner ranks appearing to me dead standing, unable to fall by the throng and equal pressure round.) He laid himself down to die, and his death, I believe, was very sudden; for he was a short, full, sanguine man; his strength was great, and I imagine, had he not retired with me, I should never have been able to have forced my way.

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I was at this time sensible of no pain and little uneasiness; I can give you no better idea of my situation than by repeating my simile of the bowl of spirit of hartshorn. I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the reverend mr. Jarvis Bellamy, who lay dead with his son the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southermost wall of the prison.

When I had lain there some little time, I still had reflection enough to suffer some uneasiness in the thought, that I should be trampled upon when dead, as I myself had done to others. With some difficulty I raised myself, and gained the platform a second time, where I presently lost all sensation; the last trace of sensibility that I have been able to recollect after my laying down, was my sash being uneasy about my waist, which I untied, and threw from me.

Of what passed in this interval, to the time of my resurrection out of this hole of horrors, I can give you no account; and indeed the particulars mentioned by some of the gentlemen who survived (solely by the number of those dead, by which they gained a freer accession of air, and approach to the windows) were so excessively absurd and contradictory, as to convince me very few of them retained their senses; or at least lost them soon after they came into the open air, by the fever they carried out with them.

In my own escape from absolute death, the hand of heaven was manifestly exerted: The manner take as follows. When the day broke, and the gentlemen found that no intreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to mr. secretary Cooke) to make a search for me; in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a release from this scene of misery. Accordingly messrs. Lushington and Walcot undertook the search, and by my shirt discovered me under the dead under the platform. They took me from thence, and imagining I had some signs of life, brought me toward the window I had first possession of.

But as life was dear to every man (and the stench arising from the dead bodies was grown intolerable) no one would give up his station in or near the window, so they were obliged to carry me back again; but soon after captain Mills (now captain of the company's yacht) who was in possession of a seat in the window, had the humanity to offer to resign it. I was again brought by the same gentlemen, and placed in the window.

At this juncture the Suba, who had received an account of the havoc death had made among us, sent one of his Jem-mautdaars

mautdaars to enquire if the chief survived. They shewed me to him; told him I had the appearance of life remaining, and believed I might recover if the door was opened soon. This answer being returned to the Suba, an order came immediately for our release; it being then near fix in the morning.

The fresh air at the window soon brought me to life; and a few minutes after the departure of the Jemmautdaar, I was restored to my sight and senses. But oh! Sir, what words shall I adopt to tell you the whole that my soul suffered at reviewing the dreadful destruction round me? I will not attempt it; and indeed, tears (a tribute I believe I shall ever pay to the remembrance of this scene, and to the memory of those brave and valuable men) stop my pen.

The little strength remaining amongst the most robust who survived, made it a difficult task to remove the dead piled up against the door; so that I believe it was more than twenty minutes before we obtained a passage out for one at a time.

I had soon reason to be convinced the particular enquiry made after me did not result from any dictate of favour, humanity, or contrition; when I came out, I found myself in a high putrid fever, and not being able to stand, threw myself on the wet grass without the veranda, when a message was brought me signifying I must immediately attend the Suba. Not being capable of walking, they were obliged to support me under each arm, and on the way one of the Jemmautdaars told me, as a friend, to make a full confession where the treasure was buried in the fort; or that in half an hour I should be shot off from the mouth of a cannon [a sentence of death common in Indostan]. This intimation gave me no manner of concern, for at that juncture I should have esteemed death the greatest favour the tyrant could have bestowed upon me.

Being brought into his presence, he soon observed the wretched plight I was in, and ordered a large folio volume, which lay on a heap of plunder, to be brought for me to sit on. I endeavoured two or three times to speak, but my tongue was dry and without motion. He ordered me water. As soon as I got speech, I begun to recount the dismal catastrophe of my miserable companions; but he stopt me short, with telling me he was well informed of great treasure being buried, or secreted, in the fort, and that I was privy to it; and if I expected favour, must discover it.

I urged every thing I could to convince him there was no truth in the information, or that if any such thing had been done it was without my knowledge. I reminded him of his repeated assurance to me the day before; but he resumed the subject

subject of the treasure, and all I could say seemed to gain no credit with him. I was ordered prisoner under Mhir Muddon, general of the household troops.

Amongst the guard which carried me from the Suba, one bore a large Moratta battle-axe, which gave rise I imagine to Mr. Secretary Cooke's belief and report of the fleet, that he saw me carried out, with the edge of the axe towards me, to have my head struck off. This I believe is the only account you will have of me, until I bring you a better myself. But to resume my subject: I was ordered to the camp to Mhir Muddon's quarters, within the outward ditch, something short of Omychund's garden (which you know is above three miles from the fort) and with me messieurs Court, Walcot, and Burdet. The rest who survived the fatal night gained their liberty, except Mrs. Carey, who was too young and handsome. The dead bodies were promiscuously thrown into the ditch of our unfinished ravelin, and covered with the earth.

My being treated with this severity, I have sufficient reason to affirm, proceeded from the following causes: The Suba's resentment for defending the fort after the governor, &c. had abandoned it; his prepossession towards the treasure; and thirdly, the instigations of Omychund [a great Gentoo merchant of Calcutta] in resentment for my not releasing him out of prison, as soon as I had the command of the fort; a circumstance, which in the heat and hurry of action, never once occurred to me, or I had certainly done it, because I thought his imprisonment unjust. But that the hard treatment I met with may truly be attributed in a great measure to his suggestions and insinuations, I am well assured, from the whole of his subsequent conduct; and this was further confirmed to me in the three gentlemen selected to be my companions, against each of whom he had conceived particular resentment; and you know Omychund can never forgive.

We were conveyed in a Hackery [a coach drawn by oxen] to the camp the twenty-first of June in the morning, and soon loaded with fetters, and stowed all four in a seapoy's tent, about four feet long, three wide, and about three high, so that we were half in, half out: All night it rained severely. Dismal as this was, it appeared a paradise compared to our lodging the preceding night. Here I became covered from head to foot with large painful boils, the first symptom of my recovery; for until these appeared, my fever did not leave me.

On the morning of the twenty-second, they marched us to town in our fetters, under the scorching beams of an intense hot sun, and lodged us at the dock-head, in the open small veranda,

veranda, fronting the river, where we had a strong guard over us, commanded by Bundo Sing Hazary, an officer under Mhir Muddon. Here the other gentlemen broke out likewise in boils all over their bodies; a happy circumstance, which, I afterwards learned, attended every one who came out of the Black-hole."

J. Z. HOLWELL.

In this hole one hundred and twenty-three persons were suffocated. The rest (twenty-three) came out alive, and were conducted to Maxadabab the capital of Bengal, where they underwent another series of miseries: At length the Nabob of Bengal being convinced there actually was no treasure at Calcutta, and his grandmother interposing in their behalf, he granted them their liberty. This loss was severely felt by the East-India company, as it was the principal settlement which they had in Bengal, and the fort the only security which they had to this valuable part of their trade. To retrieve these affairs admiral Watson and colonel Clive were called with their forces from the coast of Coromandel, which they happily effected in the course of the following year.

We will now turn to the British affairs in America, where they wore as bad a complexion this year as last, partly owing to the mischiefs and broils at home, and partly to the different opinions which influenced the assemblies of the several provinces; each was for attacking the enemy on his own frontiers, but not willing to assist his neighbour. The conduct of general Shirley had in England been declared dilatory, and considered as unsatisfactory; therefore it was determined to supersede him, with another officer, and order him home; but these orders were not dated in London till the last day of March, and then the commander was but just appointed. Colonel Webb carried these dispatches to America, and he was followed by general Abercrombie, who arrived at New-York on the 20th of June, with some troops; but the earl of Loudon, the commander in chief, did not arrive there before the 23d of July. Whether these delays must be imputed to a state of anarchy at home, we know not; but it is certain they ruined the plan of operations, which were this year concerted for attacking fort Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana. The marquis de Vandrueil, governor of Canada, being informed of this scheme, was determined to frustrate it. He got exact intelligence of the state and condition of Oswego, which was situated on the lake Ontario, and the num-

ber of vessels on the lake; this fort had been built by Mr. Shirley, in order to open and secure a passage to go and attack the French forts Niagara and Frontenac, and some vessels which were built on the lake, were designed to transport the troops into the enemies territories; it was also designed for covering the Iroquois, and securing the Indian trade, though in fact they were so corrupted by the French, that there was no longer any dependance on them. Vandrueil dispatched the marquis de Montcalm, a cruel wretch, who delighted in the most horrid butcheries, and every act of wanton barbarity, with about three thousand men, to reduce this fort. As soon as he arrived on the banks of the lake, he received intimation that the English were sending a considerable quantity of stores and provisions to the fort, and he sent off a detachment of Indians to attack the convoy, which was commanded by captain Bradstreet; but that officer received them so well as to render their efforts ineffectual to their loss: From some prisoners, which he made on this occasion, he learned the designs of the enemy, their numbers and position; an account of which he dispatched to general Abercrombie at Albany; and this officer ordered colonel Webb to hold himself in readiness to march to the relief of Oswego. No other information arrived at Albany concerning Oswego till it was taken; Bradstreet having sent the stores and provisions into the fort, proceeded to Schenectady. Montcalm embarked his troops and cannon in boats, and crossed over the lake, and on the 11th of August he appeared before Oswego; the garrison of which consisted of sixteen hundred men, commanded by colonel Mercer, an officer of approved bravery, and provided with one hundred pieces of cannon; but the fortifications of the place were not fit to resist regular approaches, the materials being principally of timber, the defences badly contrived, and even unfinished. Montcalm attacked it with thirty two pieces of cannon, and some mortars; and on the 13th colonel Mercer being killed, the garrison fell into confusion, the officers were divided in their opinions what to do, and on the 14th having considered that the place was untenable, they demanded a capitulation, and surrendered on condition of being treated with humanity, and sent prisoners to Montreal. However, Montcalm did not observe this; he permitted his Indians to massacre the defenceless soldiers, as they stood on the parade; to assassinate lieutenant de la Court, though under the protection of a French officer; and barbarously to scalp all the sick in the hospital; and finally, in direct violation of the articles, he delivered up twenty of the garrison to the Indians, in lieu of
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of that number they had lost during the siege, that they might be tortured to death, according to the cruel custom of the country. The vessels on the lake fell into the hands of the enemy; who, immediately after the surrender of the fort, demolished it, and embarked with their prisoners and cannon for fort Frontenac. It has been mentioned that captain Bradstreet sent intelligence to general Abercrombie of the enemy's designs on Oswego, and that mr. Webb was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march: This information arrived at Albany on the 12th of July; but general Webb did not leave that place, in order to proceed to Oswego, till the 9th of August: On the 17th he received advice that the fort was taken, upon which he returned to Albany. The delay of this march was principally owing to the American governors: Before general Webb could be provided with necessaries, lord Loudon arrived at Albany, which was on the 29th of July, and the relief of Oswego was the first object of his attention; but he was strenuously opposed by the province of New-York and others, who urged the taking of Crown-Point, not so much for the security of their own frontiers, as to divert him from relieving Oswego, which they hoped would fall, that they might have some appearance of reason for blaming general Shirley, who had always the security of it much at heart, though he resigned his command on the 25th of June. They at length acquiesced in sending general Webb, when it was too late. Nothing further being done this year the troops wintered at Albany.

Let us now return to the affairs of Europe, and shew how by degrees the French ministry engaged us in the unhappy broils of Germany. The fears of an invasion had so wholly engrossed the attention of our ministry, that nothing was thought of but repelling it. They ordered colonel Yorke, at the Hague, to demand of the Dutch the 6000 men stipulated by treaty, as succours to Great Britain. The States were greatly embarrassed by this demand; and they foresaw that if they complied it would involve them in the war, and expose them to an attack by land from France, which they much dreaded. They therefore contrived several delays before they would give an answer to the English memorial; which his late Majesty, at length perceiving, ordered his resident to acquaint the Princess Regent, his daughter, that he would not insist on his demand. Upon which the Dutch resolved to stand neuter; and in consequence a body of Hessian troops were required pursuant to the late treaty with the Prince of Hesse.

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Many were averse to this step, yet considering the critical situation of affairs they were afraid to oppose it, lest they should be exposed to the odious suspicion of favouring our enemies. An address to bring over these troops was therefore voted and presented to the King; and before the end of May, this year, the Hessians and Hanoverians were actually encamped in England; but the nation could ill brook the appearance of foreign forces as defenders of the liberties of Britons.

They were much better disposed to relish the convention with Prussia, and the parliament granted 20,000*l.* to make good this engagement, and one million to be employed as exigencies should require.

It is proper here to remark, that the Empress-Queen having ceded Silesia to the King of Prussia, soon begun to envy that Monarch the possession of so valuable a part of her former dominions. The desire of repossessing it and of revenging herself on that Prince, induced her, at any rate, to pick a quarrel with him; but fearful of the King's enterprising genius, she, although superior in number of forces, sought for allies to assist her in these ambitious designs. She cast her eyes on the King of Poland, elector of Saxony, who very readily joined her, and that with great similarity of sentiments. These two powers formed a secret scheme to invade Prussia, and invited the Empress of Russia to join them. That Princess was more wary as she had no foundation of dispute with the Prussian Monarch. The courts of Vienna and Dresden, upon this difficulty, propagated several artful calumnies tending to depreciate that King, and intimated that he had formed designs against Russia. By this means, and by bringing over several of the Empress's ministers to their party, they brought the Czarina into their iniquitous schemes, which concluded in the treaty of Petersburgh. Saxony, by her situation so much in the power of Prussia, was excused from formally acceding to this treaty, till matters were brought to such a crisis that it might be done without danger of being over-run. Her plan was, in case Prussia demanded at any time a passage for troops through that electorate, in order to attack the Empress-Queen, to grant it; and as soon as the King's hands were full in Bohemia or elsewhere, to march with all the electoral troops into the heart of the Prussian dominions, which would then be destitute of forces for their defence. The better to insure success in these measures, the Empress of Russia made immense preparations for subsisting an army of 120,000 men, which, by the treaty of Petersburgh, were to march against Prussia. The Empress-Queen had 80,000 men encamped on the frontiers

tiers of Silesia, 30,000 men were assembled in Saxony, and magazines formed for their subsistence; a large road was likewise cut through the mountains into Bohemia, and called, with little policy, considering the Elector's situation, THE MILITARY ROAD. The guide-posts at certain distances bearing this remarkable inscription was a circumstance not to be overlooked by a person of the King of Prussia's penetrating and watchful disposition.

He saw these preparations with a jealous eye, and thought it necessary to be certain whether they were designed against him or not. He accordingly ordered his minister at the Imperial court, to demand against whom these measures were taking; but having received an equivocating answer, he again demanded a solemn promise from the Empress-Queen that she would not attack him in the course of that year or the next. Being refused a satisfactory answer, and well informed of all the above particulars, he very justly thought it would be safest to avert the blow which hung in so formidable a manner over his head, by striking at the bosom of his enemy, to disable him from executing the designs he had formed. Such was the case of his Prussian Majesty; and all Europe must allow he was at liberty to attack any of the three powers in confederacy against him, without violating the laws of nations. This sufficiently appeared when he surprized Saxony, and got possession of the original treaties with the secret transactions relative thereto; a very necessary step, as it begun the war where his enemies proposed to end it; and the discovery of such a malicious scheme to embroil Germany, procured him many well-wishers, especially in Britain, whence he might reasonably expect most assistance, notwithstanding the singularity of this measure and his former conduct in the preceding war, wherein he had given remarkable proofs of his inconstancy. He was allowed to possess great martial abilities, of an active and penetrating genius, with an unbounded ambition, and had always a large number of troops ready for action, which he had lately augmented beyond the proportion of his revenues, in consequence of his alliance with Great Britain.

When the Empress-Queen knew of this alliance she threw herself into the arms of France, and obtained the friendship of that power at the expence of the barrier against it in the Netherlands. She concluded a treaty of alliance with the court of Versailles, and the Empress of Russia was invited to accede to it, which she afterwards did.

These three considerable powers having thus entered into a formidable confederacy, founded the courts of Madrid and Turin;

rin; but these wisely resolved on a neutrality, while Sweden was engaged, though she only entered Germany on pretence of being guarantee to the treaty of Westphalia. Besides the King of Sweden was himself inclined to peace, and the Queen was related to the King of Prussia; but both these considerations were over-borne by a faction in the senate, and some of the King's best friends beheaded: He thought himself so ill used by the diet that he threatened to resign his crown and retire to his hereditary dominions in Germany.

The Prussian Monarch was however before-hand with his enemies and had entered Saxony, seizing upon the chief cities, Dresden and Leipzig. Some forms were observed, as if he only meant to secure a passage for troops into Bohemia; but the King of Poland being forced by this bold stroke to declare himself, or disband his troops, resolved to stand on the defensive; and for that purpose drew them together at Pirna, a place of difficult access, where they encamped under cover of entrenchments and a numerous artillery: They had moreover an advantage in being nearer the Austrian armies, which were forming with great expedition in Bohemia, under m. Brown and m. Piccolomini, one of which were shortly expected to relieve them. The King of Prussia, in the mean time, formed a blockade round them, and seized on all the magazines and granaries he could find, ordering the revenues of Saxony to be paid to Prussian officers. On the other hand a process was commenced against him, as a subject of the Emperor, before the Aulic council, where he was condemned for contumacy, and put under the Imperial Bann. They adjudged him to be deprived of those dignities and possessions which he held under the empire, and brought upon him the army which is formed from the circles to put such sentences in execution. This sentence was afterwards pronounced against the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, and other Princes taking part with Prussia; but it is frequent, in Germany, to appeal from such decisions to that of the sword.

Frederick, seeing the cloud gather on every side, resolved to lose no time but make sure of Saxony, that the calamities of war might be kept at some distance from his Electoral dominions. To awe the Austrians, who he judged would speedily march to the relief of Saxony, he ordered m. Schwerin to enter Bohemia from the county of Glatz, and m. Keith on the side of Misnia; but apprehending this force insufficient, he committed the blockade of Pirna to an officer of inferior note, and entered Bohemia himself with the main body of his army. Having now joined the troops under Keith he advanced to
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attack the Austrians at Lowoschutz. Early in the morning, being the first of October, the Prussian cavalry advanced to the charge. The enemy were covered with a numerous artillery, the fire of which being well directed, obliged them to fall back with considerable loss; notwithstanding this they returned to the charge and made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, putting some irregulars to flight, which had galled their flank; yet they suffered greatly, so that the King ordered them to the rear, where they continued afterwards. The cannon, during this time, did considerable execution. Marshal Keith, at the head of the infantry, now attacked the village of Lowoschutz. In this attack the Prussians are said to have fired ninety rounds each; but being now in want of ammunition charged with their bayonets, entering the village and driving before them some fresh battalions, which m. Brown had just posted there. The action ended with a disorderly flight of the Austrians. The Prussian cavalry were too roughly handled to pursue, and were moreover discouraged by a broad ditch, which had rendered their spirited attack in the morning of little service. As the Austrians fled this way it was judged improper to pursue them, and m. Brown covered the broken troops which remained of his infantry, with a body of forces which had not been attacked, waiting for night before he went off in earnest. After midnight he began his march towards his camp at Budin, breaking down his bridges across the Egra.

Both armies claimed the victory, as they encamped on the field that night; and if m. Brown returned to his camp, the Prussians retired to Saxony, and joined the troops that were left at the blockade of Pirna: If the king of Prussia, when he entered Bohemia, intended to winter there, he lost the battle; but if his plan was only to reduce the Saxons, he certainly gained it; as m. Brown, though he made several motions to relieve them, could never effect it. The Saxons were now reduced to great straits and in want of every thing, the Prussians having taken possession of all the defiles, avenues, passes, &c. for a considerable distance round Pirna. The King of Poland had now quitted Saxony and sent a letter to count Rutowski, the commander of his army there, vesting that officer with full power to surrender, or take such measures as he should think most conducive to preserve the troops. The Saxons were spent with hunger and the great fatigue of throwing bridges over the Elbe, and constantly in motion, if possible, to effect their deliverance. Their horses were also too weak to draw the artillery, and the post as difficult to leave as it was to be forced; this will appear if we attend to it's situation. The plain

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between

between Pirna and Koenigstein, where they encamped, is a continued rock, with a declivity down to the Elbe on one side and into a valley on the other; this declivity ends on the side of Koenigstein, from whence begins a thick forest, in which the Saxons had cut down trees and barricaded themselves. On this side of Pirna was a narrow pass, where, as well as in the town itself, they had thrown up intrenchments and were well provided with cannon. With this strong situation they were in want of water, provisions and forage. They had to form a bridge over the Elbe, in order to make their escape. The Prussian officers suffered them to finish it without any disturbance, and when they were sufficiently embarrassed by the difficulty of the passes and badness of the roads, the Prussians fell on their rear guard. The Saxons now lost all presence of mind, and cut down the bridge. M. Brown had by this time advanced to Schandau, and immediately acquainted the Saxons that he would stay there all the next day but no longer, and agreed, upon a signal given by the Saxons, to attack the Prussian posts. This signal was not made; for the Saxons were in a place from whence there was no passage, no possibility of acting or retreating; and M. Brown, apprehending some danger from his own situation, retreated towards Bohemia, having his rear harassed by Prussian detachments. Thus the Saxons were obliged to submit, and even to enter into the King of Prussia's service. He also caused the Electorate to furnish him recruits and levied heavy contributions; and in case of non-payment threatened the inhabitants with military execution; nay to humble them sufficiently he took up his winter quarters among them. Thus were the poor Saxons forced to suffer all the calamities of war, through the ambition of their Sovereign, the intrigues of France, and the implacable hatred of the Empress-Queen to Prussia.

Our domestic affairs were at this time in great confusion, and there appeared the utmost despondency in the ministry. They shared equally in the clamour raised against admiral Byng, and at the same time disagreed among themselves, to which the late altercations upon the loss of Minorca contributed not a little. The Duke of Devonshire now presided at the Treasury, instead of the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Legg was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Mr. George Littleton, since ennobled. Lord Temple, brother-in-law to Mr. Pitt, presided at a new board of Admiralty. A coalition of these with those of the old unsettled administration that kept their posts, might well cause a ferment. The loss of Oswego added fuel to the flame, and now the fears of an invasion

sion having subsided, the Hanoverian and Hessian troops, who were still under the people's noses, added not a little to the public resentment; but it being necessary to send them back for the defence of their own country, it was accordingly done.

On the 2d of December the Parliament met, when the clamour against the Old Ministry was as violent in the house as it had been without doors. Mr. F----- thought he bore too great a share of the public odium, and therefore resigned his post, as Secretary of State, not without the flattering prospect of resuming it with greater weight; for which he apprehended the embarrassment of parties would afford him an opportunity. As he was a principal support of the Old Ministry, and in fact also of that which now existed, his removal caused the whole structure to fall in pieces. It could not seem strange if the party which had brought about this succeeded to their vacant places. On the 4th of December Mr. Pitt was appointed Secretary of State, and other promotions were made. This Minister was well qualified by his natural and acquired talents to serve the nation and carry it's power, both by land and sea, to the utmost limits. There was in all his designs a greatness not easily to be comprehended; but the success shewed them to be well laid, and the persons who conducted them to be well chosen. His power was neither acquired nor exercised in the ordinary manner. With little influence, either at Court or in Parliament, he directed in both with an authority unknown before to the best supported minister. Under him we saw, for the first time, a popular ministry; carrying on the most important war that ever Britain was engaged in, with greater splendour and more success than when at the head of formidable alliances: Alone we seemed a match for Europe. He never suffered the enemy to breathe but kept up the alarm in every quarter. If one expedition failed amends was made by another, and a third. The spirit of the nation, once called properly into action, was never suffered to cool, but dazzled the enemy by a multitude of enterprizes rapidly executed, till they lost all power of resistance. Our military genius was revived; our Allies supported; our colonies recovered; our trade extended, and our dominions augmented. Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Pitt left the ministry. In what condition they were at this time may be seen above; and no wonder if those who knew his abilities pleased themselves with the prospect of matters being conducted on more national principles; upon which account those who had lately resigned did not pretend to oppose his measures.

He, by a way peculiar to himself, prepared to attack France by sea and on her own coasts; a method which he knew would most affect her, and be productive of the only solid advantage which this nation could reap from a war with her. He aimed from the first at a superiority by sea, and France was not ready for such an enemy, having had ministers of inferior abilities all along to deal with. The other powers of Europe were alike surprized. He declared positively against foreign subsidies and sending troops to Germany. People of all degrees hoped every thing from his abilities; only a few of the Old Ministry, finding he would not enter into their views, endeavoured to lessen him in the public esteem, representing him and his adherents as imperious, obstinate and ignorant; nay some went so far as to question their loyalty.

The Trial of admiral Byng now came on; it was begun on the 27th of December, on board the *St. George*, in Portsmouth harbour. After a long sitting it was agreed, 'That he had been negligent in the performance of his duty at the time he ought to have engaged the French Admiral; but that his negligence arose from an error of judgment.' From other favourable circumstances they thought him an object worthy of mercy, and as such recommended him to his Majesty, because the twelfth Article of war, under which his case fell, prescribes death, without any mitigation, in cases of negligence. Many of the officers composing this tribunal declared their concern at his condemnation; and it was believed by many that the Admiral thought he had done his duty. Great interest was made in his behalf, and perhaps he might have escaped an ignominious death, if it had not been judged necessary he should be made an example of. The legality of his sentence was confirmed by the twelve Judges: However, one gentleman at the Board of Admiralty, refused to subscribe the warrant for his execution. The reasons for his refusal take in his own words.

(1757.)

A-----l F-----s's *reasons for not signing the warrant for admiral Byng's execution.*

" I T may be thought great presumption in me to differ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to sign his name to an act, which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

" In

“ In the case before us, it is not the merit of admiral Byng that I consider: Whether he deserves death, or not, is not a question for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence pronounced on him by the court-martial; and after having so clearly explained their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my most serious consideration.

“ The twelfth article of war, on which admiral Byng's sentence was grounded, says, ‘ That every person who, in time of action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or who shall not do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death.’ The court-martial does, in express words, acquit admiral Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the word negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned; otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection. But it must be acknowledged, that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence; for wilful negligence, in admiral Byng's situation, must have proceeded from either cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes: Besides, these crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed justify suspicion, and private opinion, but cannot satisfy the conscience in a case of blood.

“ Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-martial; his life and death were left to their opinions. The court martial condemn him to death, because, as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expressly say, that for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they most earnestly recommend him to his majesty for mercy; it is evident then, that in the opinions and consciences of the judges, he was not deserving of death.

“ The question then is, shall the opinions, or necessities, of the court-martial, determine admiral Byng's fate? If it should be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges; if the former, his life is not forfeited. His judges declare him not deserving of death; but, mistaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive,
fall

fall under; and then they condemn him to death, because as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man's life be taken away by such a sentence? I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of admiral Byng's deserts: That was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conscience; which after deliberate consideration, assisted by the best light a poor understanding can afford, it remains still in doubt; and, therefore, I cannot consent to sign a warrant whereby the sentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking that however criminal admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I don't mean to find fault with other men's opinions; all I endeavour at is to give reasons for my own; and all I desire, or wish, is, that I may not be misunderstood. I do not pretend to judge of admiral Byng's deserts, nor to give my opinion on the propriety of the act.

Signed the 16th of February, 1757, at the
Admiralty,

J. F."

The unfortunate admiral prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquility. He maintained a surprising cheerfulness to the last; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension. During that interval he had remained on board of the *Monarque*, a third rate ship of war, at anchor in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the admiralty. On the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbour, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators. About noon, the admiral having taken leave of a clergyman and two friends, who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence. He advanced with a firm, deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered, until his friends representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, knelt on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners,

tioners, who fired a volley so decisive that five balls passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

His own sentiments concerning his fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marshal of the admiralty. "A few moments will now deliver me from the violent persecution, and frustrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create; persuaded I am, that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: The manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me, will be seen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his majesty's honour, and my country's service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with more success; and that the armament, under my command, prov'd too weak to succeed in an expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaffection. My heart acquits me of these crimes: But who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error of judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and yet if the error in judgment should be on their side, GOD forgive them as I do; and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved and subside as my resentment has done. The Supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives, and to him I must submit the justice of my cause."

J. B Y N G.

Early this year the Militia Bill passed both Houses. It was introduced into the House of Commons by the honourable Mr. George

George Townshend, and his brother Charles. The people were prepared to receive this salutary and necessary law, by some pamphlets written by persons of distinction, shewing the benefit and propriety of a National Militia in time of war. However there were some persons in power who secretly disliked it, and many who acquiesced in it were far from being hearty in it's favour; but none chose openly to avow their sentiments against it as it was so popular a measure. Though it passed into a law, as we have observed above, it wanted many of those amendments and alterations to render it effectual, which indeed afterwards took place. To this succeeded a message from the King, acquainting the House, that the French were preparing to enter Germany and invade his Electoral dominions, together with those of his ally, the King of Prussia. His Majesty then required such assistance as would enable him to form an army of observation for the defence of his territories in Westphalia, and also to fulfil his engagements with Prussia. This message was complied with and 200,000*l.* granted for those purposes. At the same time the Parliament addressed the King to lay before them all the papers relative to the affair of Minorca. So many were produced that the truth lay buried under heaps of letters, orders, instructions, &c. which seemed to require the attention of a whole session in order to extract the necessary facts and fairly investigate them; so the whole of that affair ended in nothing.

A body of troops was assembled early this year in Westphalia, under the name of An Army of Observation, to be commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. This army was to watch the motions of the French, who were preparing to invade Hanover. If we consider the equity of this measure, it will be found a necessary one at that time, whatever some people may have urged against it. Mr. Pitt brought that message to the House, which produced the vote in favour of it, without losing any of his credit with the people on that account. It might be fairly concluded when the shipping of France was first seized, that nation would revenge itself on Hanover; and now the unhappy people were ready to be pillaged on our account, less could not be proposed for their assistance than an army to observe the enemy's motions, and by standing on the defensive, find employment for more of his troops. Mr. Pitt and his friends were for confining the operations in Germany to this point of view at first, and even cramped it so far as to declare against British troops going over or taking the foreign troops into pay. This was doubtless opposing one extreme by another; for if the troops of that country could be under our direction

direction they would have the advantage of recruiting and wintering on the spot, while the French would lose half their numbers by the hazard of convoys, magazines, &c. and be obliged to retreat in the winter. This happened in fact, to the ruin of numerous armies, and the disgrace of their commanders. But it may be said, to the honour of Britain, that the exertion of our strength in Germany was well-timed, tho' a more natural, safe, less-complicated, and less expensive plan of politicks was insisted on at this juncture.

Without controversy this ought to be the general rule of our operations. Great Britain as an island should be conducted on different maxims than those nations on the continent. Our proper strength is maritime and should chiefly be exerted at sea. Trade is our natural employment, in which the French who are our inveterate enemies greatly rival us. We can by a sea war support our commerce and cramp theirs. If we leave this point of view and enter the labyrinth of continental politicks, make ourselves parties in every controversy, exhaust our treasure in purchasing the useless and precarious friendship of every petty prince, waste the blood of our people in all the quarrels that may arise on the continent of Europe, all this will be so far from going the right way to reduce France, that we are attacking her on the strongest side, and weaken ourselves by such ill-judged efforts.

On these principles the new ministry were for proceeding; but the necessity of paying a strict regard to what is called the balance of power, was opposed to their arguments, and the national business was interrupted by these disputes, which ended in the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. On the 5th of April the King commanded him to resign, and four days after Mr. Legge resigned of course. Affairs at this time were truly deplorable. We were engaged in a war which had hitherto proved unsuccessful. Military virtue was despaired of, and publick spirit seemed to be extinguished. Operations were suspended; for there being no settled ministry there was no plan to act by. The principal persons in the kingdom were divided into three parties. The first were those who had been connected with former administrations and were gotten into places and power; but they in general wanted abilities and popularity, an essential requisite in a government like ours; yet the monied interest was at their command, and they had by far the greatest part of parliamentary influence. The second party were those who succeeded to office in this state of affairs, and were soon forced to abandon their posts. They were even more

unpopular than the first party; their strength being inferior as their influence in parliament was less, tho' they were allowed to have abilities. The third party possessed an unbounded popularity. With mr. Pitt at their head they were thought capable of exerting that spirit which was necessary to assert our rights, and which the nation had long wanted; that courage and honesty to pursue the real interests of their country in defiance of opposition and contempt of private advantages, which alone could render Britain united at home and respected abroad. Their strength in parliament was trifling, and their influence at court less; but they were caressed by the people, who reposed the most perfect confidence in their integrity and disinterestedness. That of their leader was universally allowed; even by his enemies he was known to have a turn for business, and his application was equal to his abilities. The turning these men out of employment was so far from working their disgrace as was intended, that it made them, if possible, shine with more distinguished lustre; the whole nation rose up as one man to vindicate their conduct, and the freedoms of most of the great cities and corporations in Great-Britain and Ireland were transmitted to mr. Pitt and mr. Legge in gold boxes, accompanied with remarkable addresses, containing the highest encomiums on the patriotism and virtue of their administration. Nobody succeeded to mr. Pitt's office. On the 6th of April lord Mansfield was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a new Board of Admiralty was appointed with the Earl of Winchelsea at it's head. Three days after these alterations were made, the Duke of Cumberland was sent to Hanover to command an army of observation, consisting of between thirty and forty thousand Hanoverians and Hessians. This measure was taken in consequence of the movement of a French army towards the Rhine, composed of those troops which they had last year assembled on the coasts of Picardy, Brittany and Normandy, with a view of proceeding to Germany, and attacking the King of Prussia, in consequence, as they pretended, of their treaty with the Empress-Queen, and their being guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia; though perhaps their real design was no other than to make a conquest of the Electorate of Hanover, by which they judged they could oblige the British Monarch to make some concessions with regard to America. The name of Hanover was at this time so unpopular in England, that the people would not hear of a man or a shilling being sent thither. The sending our troops thither, while we are at war with France, is doubtless prejudicial to this nation; for, by want of speedy recruits, we cannot act on the offensive against France as we ought. The

The want of a settled ministry occasioned the misfortune of our having no fixed plan of politics at the beginning of the year; and our affairs were not likely to go well, when it was uncertain how we should pursue them in such a variety of changes; for during the whole spring nothing was to be seen or heard of at court but confusion and cabal. At length, when we were almost ruined by this state of anarchy, and when our generals had taken the field in every quarter, though perhaps not without the fear of being disgraced by new masters, the caballing seemed to cease, and a reconciliation among the parties began to be brought about. Perhaps the old junto, who had incurred the censure of the people, were afraid to push matters to an extremity: They now saw the effects of popularity which they once despised, and that the people were not to be led by the nose implicitly into every measure as they had apprehended. Addresses made their way to the throne, praying, that the dismissed ministers might be restored, for upon them depended the security and honour of the nation, and the success of the war, which had hitherto teemed with disgrace and misfortune. These were terrible blows to the party in power, and there was no concealing them. On the 29th of June the king restored Mr. Pitt to his office, and three days after Mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Newcastle was placed at the head of a new board of treasury, Lord Anson made first lord of the admiralty, and Mr. Fox paymaster of the forces. This arrangement was productive of the most happy consequences, and whoever advised it was a friend to Great-Britain. It was impossible to exclude some of the late ministry from the administration; their influence in council and parliament was so great, that they were able to thwart every measure in which they were not immediately concerned or consulted; this was the best step that could be taken, because it was an healing one, and while it satisfied the heads of the parties themselves, it could not fail of being agreeable to their numerous friends; it had one advantage above all these, which was, that it entirely quelled the spirit of faction, no one party being able on its single bottom to do any thing; and this coalition, so necessary in a government like ours, gave universal satisfaction to all ranks of people. It is not necessary to trace out the means through which it was effected; the reader must be content with our observing, that after the parties had abated something in their hard and rigorous terms, by which all things had been pushed to an extreme, they consented to a kind of capitulation, both the court and the people being reconciled to its terms. There

could be no fear of neglect where the vigilance and capacity of mr. Pitt were to be exerted

In the mean time the operations in Germany on the side of the King of Prussia were begun with great spirit. He defied the Imperial ban, and though he knew the state of the confederacy against him, he resolved to force his way into Bohemia, and its capital without delay. The Austrians commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and count Brown, were already joined to oppose his passage. The King divided his army into three bodies, and then began his march. One of these divisions, commanded by the Prince of Bevern, defeated a large corps of the enemy at Richenburg. The whole army entered Bohemia without any further opposition, and with surprising rapidity pushed forward to Prague.

The Austrian army under Prince Charles of Lorraine consisted of above ninety five thousand men, being joined by the remains of that army from Moravia which was beaten by the Prince of Bevern, and by several regiments from the garrison of Prague. They took post on the banks of the Moldau, near that city, in a camp almost inaccessible, with their left wing inclining to the mountain of Zischau, and their right towards Sterboholi, where they waited on an eminence for the Prussians. The King designing to attack them had suddenly joined his armies, and now passing the Moldau, resolved to turn the enemy's camp. For this purpose his army defied towards the left; upon which marshal Brown made a motion to the right to avoid being flanked. The Prussians marched beyond Bischowitz, traversing ditches and morasses. This separated their infantry a little, at the same time attacking too precipitately they were repulsed; but they made a fresh attack and forced the enemy's right. The cavalry seconded this bold stroke and after three charges obliged the Austrian cavalry on the right to fly. Their center by this time was broke by the Prussian infantry, who pushed quite through the Austrian camp. They then joined their cavalry and cut off the Austrian left wing from all hopes of communicating with the right, which was now flying towards Sazawa in great confusion. Immediately the left wing under m. Brown was attacked with great resolution, and the Prussians seizing three batteries, on three different eminences, successively drove the enemy to the utmost despair.

The Prussian ardour in this battle, under the eye of their Sovereign, rose to that noble enthusiasm of bravery, which generally insures success. That army from Silesia, under marshal Schwerin, had morasses to pass, precipices to climb, and batteries to face; but a morass at which they hesitated was likely

likely to disconcert the whole plan of action. It was here the brave marshal Schwerin dismounted and taking the Colonel's standard of his own regiment resolutely advanced, crying out, "All true Prussians will follow me." He was killed almost with the words in his mouth; but his example had such an effect, that the Prussians passed with great dispatch, seeming desirous of nothing but revenge; and several generals led up with the colours of their regiments to the attack, bearing down all before them to the Austrian camp.

The loss of marshal Schwerin was greatly regretted; but the enemy suffered likewise in the death of marshal Brown, of a wound scarce judged mortal; so that a sense of his disgrace may be said to have hastened his end. The whole Austrian camp was taken; 40,000 of their troops threw themselves hastily into Prague; the rest fled towards Benneschaw; great numbers were slain; near ten thousand taken prisoners; the military chest, 250 cannon and numerous trophies of victory fell into the hands of the conquerors. This battle was fought near Prague on the 6th of May.

Frederic immediately invested Prague; with a considerable army cooped up in it's walls. In order to cut off all succours he divided his army into two bodies. Marshal Keith commanded one, which blocked up the little town on this side the Moldau, while the King in person invested the old city with the other. It was judged impossible to take the city by assault with an army to defend it; but probably it might be reduced by famine. This event might be brought on by a bombardment, for which preparations were hastening. The redoubts and batteries being in great forwardness by the 23d of May, a desperate and well-conducted sally was made by the Austrians. They attacked in the night a battery yet unfinished with 10,000 men, but were often repulsed, and at day-break retired in some confusion, after a sharp dispute which lasted three hours, without making any impression on the Prussian posts, or executing their main design, which was to burn the bridges of communications across the Moldau. The Prince of Bevern covered the siege with 20,000 men, and on the 29th of May, after a most terrible storm of rain and thunder, four batteries were opened on the signal of a rocket at midnight. These discharged 288 bombs every twenty-four hours on the unhappy city, besides great numbers of red-hot balls. We may conceive some idea of their destructive effects when the city was on fire in several places at once, and 12,000 horses, without forage or cover, were ranged in the streets and squares, every moment breaking loose during this terrible bombardment. On the

10th of June a red-hot ball set fire to an entire quarter of the new city, which burnt with incredible fury for five hours, and when it appeared in some measure to abate, broke out again towards evening. The wind now being high carried the flames before it, spreading apace, so that every thing was levelled for several hundred yards. The principal magistrates, clergy, and burghers, supplicated the commander to ask terms of the besiegers, before the city was reduced to an entire heap; but Prince Charles was deaf to their prayers, and even hanged up two Senators that were too clamorous. He had before this driven 12,000 useless mouths out of the city, and they were forced back by the Prussians. Thus compleatly were they distressed, and it was thought Prague would soon be given up without terms, when count Daun gave an unexpected turn to affairs in Bohemia.

He had for some time been collecting that part of the Austrian army which had fled towards Moravia; the garrisons of such places as were at hand were added to this broken corps, and their ramparts stripped of cannon to compose a train of artillery. He now took post at Colin, a strong camp at a small distance from Prague, from whence he gave the besieged some hopes of relief, judging this would draw the king to attack him. Frederick fearing the Prince of Bevern might be cut off, and being informed Daun was 60,000 strong, took a sudden resolution to dislodge him contrary to m. Keith's advice for reducing Prague first, or else raising the siege and fighting Daun with the whole army; but the king had formed his plan and would not alter it.

He drew together thirty-two thousand men, consisting of the out parties and some troops before Prague for this purpose, and marched them to Colin, where he found count Daun intrenched up to the teeth and defended with the most formidable trains of artillery he had ever beheld. Notwithstanding these advantages, besides their superior numbers, the king gave orders for the attack, which was made with the most impetuous and well-regulated courage. The Prussians were driven back and returned to the charge seven times, with unheard-of resolution; but the remembrance of their late victories was fresh in their memories. Both the king's brothers were in the field; he was surpris'd with their courage, at the same time that he testified a concern for their safety. He now headed the cavalry himself and made a desperate concluding charge. All proved ineffectual, and the troops were now drawn off, having suffered very severely from the Austrian artillery, which swept them away as they advanced up the heights; in short the king perceived,

perceived, when it was too late, that his troops were too few for this desperate enterprize; and when he determined to draw off called aloud to the Prince of Bevern in French, "We will do better another time;" thus taking all the blame upon himself. Count Daun never stirred out of his intrenchments: He knew there were not troops sufficient to force them, and saw those men sacrificed by thousands, who had spread terror as far as the gates of Vienna, well knowing the king, by the loss of his best troops, would be less formidable for that campaign at least. He was too cautious to pursue; so that the Prussians made a tolerable retreat to Prague, where the king, having joined his army under m. Keith, prepared to raise the siege directly. This measure proves his loss must have been great; besides the common consequences of a defeat in disheartening the men and bringing on desertions. The siege of Prague was raised that night, and he begun his march with all speed for Saxony. When the imprisoned army had notice of this they sallied out of the city, but it was too late to do him any material damage. Count Daun now joined them, and was received with all the transports due to a deliverer. They were attentive in the mean time to what the Prussian monarch might next undertake; but after this sudden turn of affairs he began to act on the defensive. Frederic soon saw the necessity of this, as his enemies, animated by the success of their allies, began to threaten his destruction on all sides. The Russians began to ravage Prussia with every aggravating circumstance of cruelty; their behaviour was as cowardly as it was barbarous, not once daring to face a handful of Prussians under m. Lehwald. When their behaviour was now grown intolerable, and the Prussian soldiers under Lehwald thirsted for vengeance, that general was ordered to attack them. No sooner were they advised of this than they intrenched themselves, tho' in number eighty thousand regulars besides Cossacks, in an advantageous camp, near Norkitten. The Prussians, not exceeding thirty thousand men, attacked their intrenchments with their usual vigour, on the 30th of August, early in the morning. The king of Sweden's brother, at the head of the dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry; and a regiment of their grenadiers was cut to pieces. M. Lehwald, after a considerable loss, forced the enemy's first intrenchment, but finding there was a second, defended by at least two hundred cannon, he thought it most prudent to spare the troops, and drew off to his former camp, without the least molestation. The Russians continued in theirs to the 13th of September, till finding it impossible to subsist in a country already ruined by their own ravages, they began

began a retreat, to the surprize of both the Prussians and all Europe. The court of Peterſburgh diſavowed this; and marſhal Apraxin, who commanded theſe troops, was ordered to be arreſted; but his death hindered a farther enquiry into this affair. The ſuddenneſs of this retreat hindered m. Lehwald from making any advantage by harraſſing their rear; ſo he turned his arms againſt the Swedes. They had ſeized ſeveral towns in the higher Pomerania, but quitted them on his approach, being pushed to Straelfund, with ſcarce half their numbers; having ſuffered alike from fatigue and famine and in conſequence not a little from deſertion.

We will now return to the French army under m. d'Etrees, which had entered Weſtphalia, under colour of auxiliaries to the Empreſs of Germany. The Duke of Cumberland commanded the army intended to watch their motions, and did all that was in his power to obſtruſt their march; but every obſtacle was overcome by the French General, who had ſuperior abilities to ſeveral that ſucceeded him, and had a number of troops almoſt double to that of his Royal Highneſs. This obliged the Duke to paſs the Weſer, and d'Etrees followed him in the beginning of July. It was difficult before this to ſuſſiſt an army of 80,000 men in that barren country, betwixt the Rhine and the Weſer, which made them advance by ſlow marches; but now they pushed forwards and ſpread terror on every ſide by levying heavy contributions. The country of Heſſe-Caſſel ſuffered firſt. Minden and Gottingen received French garrisons without oppoſition, and a requiſition was ſent to the regency of Hanover for deputies to ſettle contributions, forage, &c. The Duke was then at Hamelen, and removed towards Halle in order to watch their motions. He ſent general Zaſtrow with 12,000 men to ſeize the important paſs of Stadt-oldendorf; but he came too late, as the French were already in poſſeſſion of it; ſo the General by a forced march rejoined the Duke's army at Latford on the Weſer. On the 24th of July the French drove ſome Hanoverian parties from Latford, and the Duke perceiving their intention was to attack him, drew up his army on the high ground, with his right towards the Weſer, and his left cloſe to a wood, the village of Hoſtenbeck being in his front. The evening coming on he withdrew all his out poſts and ordered the troops to lie on their arms for that night.

In the morning the enemy was ſeen marching in columns, as if they intended to attack the Hanoverians, but confined their operations for that day to a furious cannonade, which was returned by the Duke, tho' with a much inferior train of artillery.

lery. This night was passed under arms, and at five next morning, being the 26th of July, the cannonade began with more fury upon an Hanoverian battery, supported by the Hessian troops with great bravery and firmness. At seven in the evening, after six hours cannonade without intermission, the Hanoverians on the left wing began to fire with small arms.

Some grenadiers had been posted in the wood to cover that flank, and a battery planted there. These finding they were like to be surrounded by the French retired to the left and joined the army; upon which the French seized the battery without opposition. It was here the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick distinguished himself, by attacking a superior force and retaking the battery. The enemy being in possession of a height that flanked both the Duke's lines, who wanting room to change his position ordered the army to retreat, which was done in good order to Hamelen. It has been said that his Royal Highness had won the battle without knowing it; for the French in marching through the wood were seized with a panic and fired on one another, so that word was brought to d'Etrees, from all quarters, of the Hanoverians appearing to right and left, as if they would flank him both ways. This made him alter his position about the same time when the Duke had resolved on a retreat without perceiving it.

His Royal Highness now made a motion to Hoya, where he encamped, but retreated to Verden, for which place the army marched on the 12th of August. M. d'Etrees had been forced to resign his command in favour of the Duke de Richlieu, on the 6th of that month, by the intrigues of madam Pompadour. That new commander advanced by hasty marches on the duke of Cumberland, who kept retreating towards Stade, instead of taking the direct rout to Magdebourg, where the king of Prussia and he might have joined their forces, or assisted each other separately. By the beginning of September he was cooped up with the water on his flanks and rear, and the French in his front. Thus distressed he was necessitated to sign an agreement made under the mediation of Denmark, by which his whole army, consisting of 38,000 men, were to lay down their arms. The Hanoverians had quarters assigned them by the French General round about Stade, out of which they were not to move; the troops of Hesse, Brunswick, and Saxe-Gotha, were sent back to their own countries, to be further disposed of as their respective Sovereigns should agree with the court of France. Soon after this his Royal Highness returned to London, where finding his

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conduct severely censured, he threw up all the places which he held under the crown, and retired to Windsor.

It was certainly a false step to retreat to such a bad situation, with an army which had not only faced the French two days, but had nearly defeated them, and had drawn off without being pursued. A new General was appointed by an influence which was likely to create misunderstandings among the French officers. An experienced and scheming commander would have availed himself of this and hazarded another battle in such circumstances: But the Duke was too cautious after the fatal miscarriage at Fontenoy of exposing his troops. He could never get over this; for the apprehension of repeating what had been censured as a species of Quixotism made him apt to fall into the contrary extreme; yet that victory by which he finished the last rebellion, and that military spirit which was introduced into the army, chiefly by his strict attention to discipline, laid the foundation of our first conquests, and of that extraordinary and unexampled military glory which the British troops afterwards acquired in every quarter of the globe. But to return.

The army of the Empire had now advanced into Saxony and summoned the Prussian garrison in Leipzig. Frederic had several times offered battle to the Austrian army, which was more than double in number to his, but Daun declined coming to action. He now resolved to attack this army of the Circles, and after making several feigned motions, brought his army opposite to them, at the village of Rosbach. The French, under Prince de Soubize, had now joined them and were said to exceed 34,000 men; the Imperialists under the Prince of Saxe-Hilbourhausen, were 20,000, all in health and spirits, while the Prussians were not in the whole 25,000 men, and those greatly fatigued with forced marches. The two armies cannonaded each other all day, and at night the Generals took a resolution to give battle to his Prussian Majesty. On the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, they made the necessary preparations. The King, who perceived their designs, prepared to receive them, as he wished for nothing more than a decisive stroke. He harangued his troops, in a short but pathetic speech, expressing a just sense of their hardships and his own critical situation in these words.

“ My dear friends; the hour is come in which all that is,
“ and all that ought to be dear to us, depends on the swords
“ which are now drawn for the battle. Time permits me to
“ say but little, and there is no occasion to say much. You
“ know that there is no labour, no hunger, no cold, no
“ watch-

“ watching, no danger, that I have not shared with you hitherto; and you now see me ready to lay down my life with you, and for you. All I ask is the same pledge of fidelity and affection that I give; and let me add, not as an incitement to your courage, but as a testimony of my own gratitude, that from this hour till you go into quarters, your pay shall be double. Acquit yourselves like men, and put your confidence in GOD.” The effect this speech had upon the troops was indeed astonishing. The substance of it was reported from rank to rank, with such flattering circumstances as the idea of Frederic’s heroic turn would naturally suggest; till every corps of the army was wound up to a courage that approached nearly to madness, and nothing but the strict discipline they were accustomed to, could have given it a proper direction in the heat of battle.

All the cavalry had been previously marched to the left, as the King intended to attack with that wing only, resolving not to be surrounded. They charged with great impetuosity, being most gallantly met on the spur by the French horse, but they were overborne by the Prussian cavalry, routed, and even pursued for some time, till having gained an eminence they again rallied and were again put to flight, quitting the field entirely by four in the afternoon. During this charge of the cavalry the Prussian infantry on the left wing extended themselves and stood a very brisk cannonade, which gauled them severely for about fifteen minutes, when their fire began, which the French could neither stand, nor prevent them from carrying their batteries one after another, almost instantaneously; such was the ardour of their attack, that the French infantry fled on that side and gave way in the utmost confusion.

As the left wing of the Prussians advanced their right changed its position, and meeting with a rising ground planted sixteen pieces of heavy cannon there, the fire of which taking the left wing of the enemy in front severely handled them. At five the victory was decided, and the French fled on all sides. The King exposed himself to the hottest fire while he led on his troops. Three thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field of battle, sixty-three pieces of cannon, a great many colours, eight French generals, two hundred and fifty officers of different ranks, and six hundred private men were taken. The darkness of night saved from total destruction the remains of an army so formidable in the morning, and they were pursued on the three following days to Freybourg and so forward to Erfurth, before they had the least time to breathe or could procure any refreshment.

This victory was of the utmost consequence to the king of Prussia; for a little before he fought it, the whole state of his affairs seemed verging to utter ruin, but afterwards they began to put on a different face, and to promise him better fortune, owing intirely to the importance of this victory; he had been invested on the north by the Swedes and Russians, on the east and part of the south by the Austrians, and on the west and south by the French and the army of the Empire; and such was the vicinity of those powerful armies, which did not in the whole amount to less than 360,000 men, that they were all of them at one time hovering on the skirts of his dominions, and some of them had actually penetrated so far, that their detached parties laid his capital under contribution. In this situation, hemmed in on every side by the most formidable league the world had ever seen, some might have thought it prudent if he had offered to submit; but will posterity think his numerous enemies deserve any honour if they had compelled him to it? Surrounded as he was, and obliged to make head against them all, it is not to be wondered at, that when he went through Leipzig to fight the army of the empire, he was, by continual fatigue, worn to a skeleton: He could bring no other army to an action, and considering the inferiority of his numbers and the unwillingness of the Imperialists, there were none he was more likely to defeat. By this battle he got rid of the army on one side, and checked the progress of marshal Richlieu on the other, who was advancing from Hanover towards Magdeburgh; the Russians had retired before, and the Swedes were at this time besieged in Stralsund, so that of his enemies who appeared so formidable in August, the Austrians only were left to oppose him.

In order to check the operations in Silesia, Frederick turned back from Erfurth to which place he had pushed the remains of the combined army, and began a march of two hundred miles with troops collected from places above a hundred miles distant of each other, a little before the last battle; he made a rapid march through Thuringia, Misnia and Lusatia, for Silesia, while m. Keith entered Bohemia and advanced towards Prague, taking a considerable magazine at Leitmoritz.

The Austrians, upon the first notice of his Majesty's march to fight the combined army, had resolved to wrest Silesia out of his hands by some means or other, whatever might become of Saxony, which they pretended to recover for the king of Poland, their ally. Accordingly general Nadaſti laid siege to Schweidnitz and carried on the operations with such spirit and intrepidity, that though the garrison consisted of four thousand

thousand men, he forced them by his repeated attacks to surrender prisoners of war on the 11th of November; he undertook this enterprize principally with Bavarian troops, and he was no way sparing of their lives. It was just after this conquest that the Austrians were informed of the King of Prussia's success at Rosbach, upon which they concluded he would be with them as soon as possible, therefore they found it necessary to make use of the interim to the best advantage, whatever it cost, as the present exigencies required vigorous measures. In this opinion they united their force and advanced to the intrenchments of the Prince of Bevern, where they overlooked the danger, from the importance of forcing them; they did not trouble their heads about the number of cannon which on every side defended this inaccessible camp; they considered that by forcing him they should get Breslau, the capital of Silesia, but did not reflect on the number of men it would cost, and of course weaken their strength, so necessary to keep the possession. On the 22d of November they marched up to their intrenchments and about noon made two violent and unsuccessful assaults; but the third, more intrepid than the former, forced the Prussians from the exterior lines, who thereupon retreated to others which they had behind them. The Austrians perceiving this, and considering the prodigious slaughter, all at once ceased the attack: during this suspension, the Prussians were seized with a panic, apprehending their inner intrenchments would be forced in the night, and therefore while the Austrian troops stood infatuated with surprize at having, as they thought, their work to do over again, the Prussians made use of that opportunity to abandon their intrenchments, and retreat over the Oder, except a few that threw themselves into Breslau. The Austrian generals knew nothing of this sudden motion, and were astonished when they found their strong hold evacuated. It is generally imagined the Prince of Bevern was ashamed of having acted in this injudicious manner, and was afraid to see the king of Prussia, more especially as his majesty had sent him orders not to quit the lines on any account, for that he would certainly be with him by December; and therefore in the morning of the 24th, he went to reconnoitre the enemy without escort, attended only by a groom, and was taken prisoner by a party of the enemy's Croats. This circumstance was construed into a premediated design, because it cannot be supposed that a man of his rank, a Prince, a commander in chief, should undertake the dangerous task of reconnoitring attended by only one man, and that but a groom, supposing
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he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes. The loss of the Austrians in this affair was not less than the amount of the whole Prussian force; but that of the Prussians, as they were never put into confusion, did not exceed two thousand eight hundred men. The Austrians acknowledged that such another dear-bought victory would destroy the whole army. On the 25th they summoned Breslau, and the garrison surrendered on condition of not serving against the Austrians or their allies for two years. The king, as soon as he heard of these disasters, redoubled his efforts in pushing forward to Silesia; he reached Parchwitz, near Breslau, on the 2d of December, and joined his troops, late commanded by the Prince of Bevern. The Austrians, who occupied the strong camp of the Prussians, left it as soon as they heard the king was advancing to give them battle, which they resolved to accept, and therefore began their march to meet him; but they halted at the village of Leuthen near Lissa, and though they did not intrench themselves, they felled great quantities of wood, and scattered them in their front, in order to make it impossible for the Prussians to act with regularity.

On the 5th of December the King of Prussia came up to their camp, which was defended by a numerous artillery placed on several advantageous eminences. He attacked the enemy's advanced corps, which consisted of Saxons, and cut them to pieces, also another corps who intended to take him in flank. The armies now came in sight of each other, and an obstinate and bloody conflict began; the Prussian artillery made terrible havoc; it happened to be placed in such a situation as to take the enemy in flank, and it cut them down in whole ranks: The King's infantry behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his cavalry with the most astonishing fury. The Austrians made a brave resistance, but they were obliged to give way; yet for some time they disputed the ground inch by inch; at length, finding they could not withstand the impetuosity of the Prussians, they fell into confusion, and fled from the field in all the agonies of madness and despair; the officers and men were mingled promiscuously in their flight, and the commanders never thought of rallying the troops but of saving themselves. The King pursued them to Lissa; 60,000 Austrians were slain, 1500 made prisoners, and two hundred pieces of cannon were taken. Before the battle the Austrian army is said to have exceeded seventy thousand men, but that of the Prussians did not amount to forty thousand men, who were greatly fatigued by a forced march of two hundred miles. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season was set in, the King of Prussia

sia invested Breslau, though defended by a garrison of thirteen thousand men, and compelled it to surrender by the 29th of December: The garrison were made prisoners of war. The King having re-conquered all Silesia, except Schweidnitz, he penetrated before the end of the year into the Austrian division, and reduced several towns there, which so augmented the number of his prisoners, that before New-year's-day they far exceeded the number of his whole army.

The king of Prussia's victory at Rossbach not only prevented the French from pursuing their design of entering Magdebourg, but also revived the spirits of the Hanoverians and Hessians, and encouraged them to resume their arms. Richlieu, the French general, had behaved in the most cruel and infamous manner in many places. Where it was impossible to raise the contributions demanded, the soldiers were allowed to plunder, with their usual methods of barbarity; an attempt had been made to take away the arms from the Hanoverian and Hessian troops. These open violations of the convention unbound the hands of their enemies; as soon as the king of Prussia had gained the battle of Rossbach, it was resolved to re-assemble the Allied army; and the King of Prussia for this purpose furnished a general, which was Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the Duke of Brunswick, and an officer in his own army. The first operation which they undertook was the reduction of the town and castle of Harbourg; the town was easily mastered, but the castle maintained a vigorous siege till the commander was obliged to surrender.

The British affairs in America this year still teemed with misfortunes and disgrace, not a little owing to our late political divisions, unsteadiness and langour; the attack on Crown-Point, which had been the principal object in the beginning, was now laid aside; the French were entire masters of all the lakes, and had nothing to prevent their collecting the Indians together against us. Our fears did more in behalf of the French, than the French could have done for themselves: we abandoned the Iroquois, who were once our allies, and might have been preserved; and thus without one native in our alliance, our whole frontiers were exposed to their incursions. Instead of attacking Crown-Point, it was judged of more consequence to go against Louisbourg. Accordingly a plan was drawn up, but it was supposed to have been communicated to the enemy as soon as it was finished. The importance of the place was sufficient to stimulate the French ministry to provide immediately for its security; accordingly m. de Beaufremont failed

failed from Brest on the 30th of January with a squadron of nine ships, having on board a body of troops; but as the harbour of Louisbourg could not be free from ice by the time he might be there, he was directed to steer for the West-Indies, and reinforce their garrisons in that quarter, which he did, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 5th of June, from whence he sent a reinforcement of men and arms to Mons. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops in Canada. About the beginning of April m. du Rivest failed from Toulon with five ships, having also on board a number of troops, warlike stores and provisions: He slipt thro' the gut of Gibraltar, after a small encounter with admiral Saunders, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 4th of June. On the 3d of May m. du Bois de la Mothe, with fourteen ships, having likewise on board a number of troops and presents for the Indians, failed from Brest, and arrived at Louisbourg on the 29th of June: Such was the vigilance and prudence of the French; while, on the other hand, the English under admiral Holbourn did not sail from Cork till the 8th of May, nor arrive at Halifax, the appointed place of rendezvous, till the month of July.

Lord Loudon being appointed to be commander in chief was now arrived. He immediately began to collect troops from the northern provinces, and other settlements to New-York. Unfortunately for both his lordship and the service, a difference happened between him and the principal inhabitants, where he was necessitated to quarter the troops. An embargo, by which he detained all the ships of North America in port, to hinder the enemy from receiving intelligence of his designs and render provisions cheap, farther disgusted them; and they had reason for it. A little acquaintance with the exports of provisions from those settlements, would have convinced him that these provinces were in no danger of being exhausted, and the enemy could easily receive intelligence by other channels. His lordship no doubt intended this for the best, and shewed his zeal on all occasions to advance the service, by ingratiating himself with the more moderate part of the principal people, and greatly contributed to unite the provincial and regular troops to act jointly on future occasions.

Having now assembled a body of six thousand men, he embarked with these at New-York for Halifax in Nova Scotia, that they might act jointly on future occasions and with more harmony than they had hitherto done. It is well worth observing, that he set sail on the 19th of June, convoyed only by three frigates, and arrived at Halifax on the 29th, during
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all which time the French fleets were entire masters of the seas in North America; and therefore there was the utmost hazard that he and all the troops would be made prisoners by them, as admiral Holbourn did not arrive till some time after lord Loudon had *fortunately* landed at Halifax. On the 9th of July admiral Holbourn arrived with the troops from Cork; when a junction of the forces was made, it was found they amounted to 12,000 effective men; and the fleet consisted of fifteen sail of the line, and eight frigates, &c. Near a month was spent at Halifax in exercising the troops, and by feints accustomed them to divers sorts of attacks and defence. These steps were freely censured by some, and lord Charles Hay was put under arrest for speaking his sentiments on this occasion. He solicited to be tried by a court-martial, that his character might be cleared up, as he had only thrown out some hasty reflections that the troops might have been better employed; but he died before the proceedings were closed. It may be however affirmed in justice to his memory, that he shewed a becoming zeal for the service, and even the enemy considered him as an officer of great personal bravery.

All things being in readiness, the troops embarked on the 1st of August for Louisbourg; but on the 4th a French packet-boat was brought into Halifax, supposed from Louisbourg to France. By letters found on board, it appeared that there were then in the harbour seventeen ships of the line, three frigates, and six hundred men in garrison, besides three thousand natives and thirteen hundred Indians; that the place was well furnished with all kinds of military stores, and the men in high spirits, wishing only to be attacked. Some people considered all this as a contrivance of the enemy; for the boat was chased many hours, during which time the letters were not thrown overboard, a precaution generally observed on such occasions in time of war. However upon the receipt of this intelligence, the expedition was laid aside, and lord Loudon set sail with the troops for New-York, where he arrived on the 30th of August; and admiral Holbourn cruized off Cape Breton, hoping when the frosty season should force the French ships to leave the harbour and return to Europe, he might carry some of them to England, in recompence for an inactive campaign. He was disappointed even of this, and obliged to consult his own safety; for on the 24th of September the fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, which forced him off this station. One of the ships was lost, eleven dismasted, and the rest returned to England in a shattered condition; while the French fleet seizing this opportunity sailed to Europe unmolested.

As our northern provinces had been drained of troops for the intended attack on Louisbourg, that frontier was exposed to the enemy's incursions from Canada; for during the absence of lord Loudon, Fort William-Henry on lake George fell a sacrifice to the French. This garrison was fatally neglected, though an attempt had miscarried to surprize it early in March, when the lake was frozen. The French passed it with no provisions or ammunition but what they drew on sledges, intending to scale the works; but the centinels gave the alarm, and proper dispositions being made by major Ayres for their reception, they retired. This attempt shews of what consequence the French thought the place; and it was proper to have reinforced it for fear of a second attack. This might in all likelihood have prevented it's loss. However, scarce had his Lordship proposed the expedition against Louisbourg, before this siege was resolved on, and the marquis de Montcalm appeared before the fort with 10,000 men, and a large train of artillery fit for such a service. On the 9th, colonel Monroe was forced to surrender for want of ammunition, the garrison marching out with their arms, on condition not to serve for eighteen months; but many of them were butchered by the Indians, together with the women and children. So effectually had the French taught these savages their own disregard to treaties, that infants were seized by the heels and their brains dashed out at the gates of the fort. Some women had their throats cut; others had their bodies ripped up and their bowels let out, and thrown in their faces, with other shocking instances of rage and barbarity. All this cruelty was perpetrated in the presence of French regulars and their unfeeling commander, who never interposed to prevent it. That part of the garrison which escaped this butchery, arrived at Fort Edward, after a close pursuit of seven miles by these barbarians, in the most deplorable condition. General Webb was an indifferent spectator of the siege, and advised the surrender, though he had under his command near 4000 men; but these were neither sufficient to engage Montcalm, nor throw succours into the fort.

Admiral Coates had sailed with a squadron for Jamaica this year in February, where he was stationed to protect our trade in those parts. In October he detached captain Forrest with three ships to cruize off Cape Francois, for the enemy's ships that were bound to Europe. At this time four French men of war and three frigates lay in the harbour. These were commanded by m. Kerfin, who had returned without success from an attempt on our settlements upon the coast of Guinea, tho' he

he had taken several trading vessels, belonging to London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and disposed of their slaves to great advantage. He now seemed desirous of nothing but getting safe to Europe, when captain Forrest appeared before the port, with his colours flying in contempt of the Frenchman, who took a resolution of forcing him from his station.

With this view he strengthened his crews by an additional number of sailors and soldiers from the fort, with plenty of ammunition and put to sea.

When captain Forrest descried the enemy, he called his two captains on board him, and said, ‘Gentlemen, you know your own strength, and see that of the enemy: Shall we give them battle?’ They answered in the affirmative. ‘Then,’ said he, ‘fight them we will; there is no time to be lost; return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging.’ The English bore down upon the enemy with uncommon spirit, and began the action, which raged with the utmost fury above two hours and a half, all the while in the sight of the Cape; when the French finding themselves greatly damaged, and notwithstanding their vast superiority, unable to take any of the British ships, ran away, and sought their preservation in the harbour. Captain Forrest returned to Jamaica to refit his ships.

Another gallant action of this brave officer deserves to be mentioned. He, in a subsequent cruize, near the island of Hispaniola, took, by a well-concerted project, a whole fleet of nine French merchantmen, richly laden, with a single ship, in the neighbourhood of five harbours, into any of which, could the enemy but have escaped, they might have been secure, and carried them into Jamaica, where they were all condemned.

In Asia the British arms were triumphant; but this must be entirely attributed to the vigilance, prudence and courage of some good officers, being at too great a distance to receive orders from those unsteady men, who still preserved great influence. The company’s disputes with the Nabob of Bengal, the rise of which we have already explained, were terminated to their great advantage by admiral Watson and colonel Clive. After they had reduced the fort of Bulsudgia, they proceeded to Hugly up the Ganges, and reduced that also, because the Nabob refused to come into terms, which they offered to him in a most polite and civil manner at the close of the last year; but he was too haughty to think of treating, and yet was afraid of the British power. To conceal his terror he made a motion with his army towards Calcutta, upon which colonel Clive determined to give him battle in his camp; and on the 5th of

February he forced the Nabob from all his posts, though defended by between forty and fifty thousand men. This stroke was seconded by a letter from admiral Watson, intimating that this was only a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform, and perfectly answered the intention of bringing about a pacification; for in four days a treaty of peace was signed, by which the English East-India company were established in all their former privileges, an immunity from all taxes was granted, and a restitution promised for all that the trade had suffered in the taking of Calcutta. As this treaty was in a manner extorted from him, he never intended to fulfil the conditions; his principal counsellors were also in the interest of the French, who were continually gratifying them with presents, hoping by that means to embarrass the English. The day after this treaty was signed, admiral Watson and colonel Clive received advice, that war had been declared in Europe between the English and French: This of course opened a new scene; and these brave officers, who had the honour and interest of their country at heart, immediately resolved on attacking the French fort of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta. On the 24th of March, after a siege of four days, this place was reduced, though the strongest the French had in Bengal, and 183 pieces of cannon were found in it; five hundred Europeans and seven hundred Blacks were made prisoners. There being no longer any thing to apprehend from the French power in this part, they consulted how to act with regard to the Nabob, who had from time to time, upon frivolous pretences, deferred to execute the articles of the treaty, being every day more inconstant and insolent. Some time was taken up in those deliberations; they were afraid to precipitate a war with him, lest it should be fatal in its consequences; and yet his conduct justified such a step. But in the midst of these perplexities, a favourable circumstance unexpectedly appeared. The severity and fickle disposition of the Nabob spread terror among those about him; they did not think themselves safe under the command of such a man, and began to speak of depriving him of his power, because he abused it. Among these was one of great interest and authority, named Laitty; he put himself at the head of this conspiracy, who communicated their designs to the English. Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn, a general of the Nabob's army, joining the number, it was thought proper to conclude a treaty with these conspirators, upon the basis of the former with the Nabob, before our troops took the field for their assistance, as the English, by their accounts, had certain knowledge, that the Nabob

Nabob shortly intended to attack them. In this treaty, nothing was omitted that might put the company's affairs for the future upon a firm and lasting establishment; and it was also agreed that Meer Jaffier should be appointed Nabob. Every thing being now ready, colonel Clive began his march to Plaissy on the Ganges, and took post on a very advantageous ground. On the 22d of June, the Nabob's army approached and gave him battle with near forty thousand men and forty pieces of cannon; but half of the troops, who were under the command of Jaffier Aly Cawn, and other conspirators were inactive. The Nabob knew not how to invest colonel Clive's intrenchments, which he might easily have done with such a numerous army; and the colonel taking the advantage of his ignorance, totally defeated him with a very little loss among his own troops. Meer Jaffier now declared himself, and congratulated mr. Clive on his victory. The Nabob fled to Muxadavad, his capital, with a few of his attendants who continued faithful. Meer Jaffier entered the city while it was in consternation, by the advice of mr. Clive, and was by this gallant officer placed in the antient seat of the Nabobs, where he received the homage of all ranks of people. The deposed Nabob wandered about an unfortunate fugitive, pursued by his enemies, in the utmost distress, with scarce cloaths to his back, till worn out with hunger and fatigue he at length took refuge in the house of a man, whose ears he had caused to be cut off in one of the transports of his passion: This person delivered him up to his pursuers, and Jaffier Aly Cawn's son ordered him to be put to death. This great revolution was accomplished in about thirteen days, with a small force and very little loss, and the India company gained such a number of valuable advantages, as far exceeded their most sanguine expectations.

Mr. Pitt on his return to the administration, resolved upon an expedition to the coast of France, as the best method of distressing the enemy and to prevent their troops from being reinforced in Germany, as they hence would be obliged to defend their own coasts where the alarm was proposed to be kept up for a considerable extent. This measure was undoubtedly a good one, according to the state of affairs at that time. France had embarked in the quarrels of the empire, and was marching numerous armies to increase those disturbances; an attempt therefore to invade her coasts and destroy her maritime stores would be of service to Britain; by weakening the strength of her rival, and serve Germany by obliging the French to stay at home for the defence of their own maritime provinces.

Some

Some few, who were against this kind of war, urged it was cowardly, weak, and not methodical; but they were soon overruled by others, who asserted, that it was no matter which way the enemy was annoyed, provided she was but sensibly hurt. A large fleet was therefore equipped, the command of which was given to admiral Hawke, who was assisted by the admirals Knowles and Broderick. A body of troops, consisting of nine thousand men, were put on board, commanded in chief by sir John Mordaunt, assisted by the generals Conway and Cornwallis. Their destination was kept a profound secret; and whilst it exercised the penetration of all the politicians in Europe, it filled France with the most serious alarm. The design was to make a diversion in favour of our Allies in Germany, by drawing a part of the French army from Westphalia, to the defence of their own coasts. After much time spent in making preparations, and several delays, the fleet sailed on the 8th of September, the day on which the Convention of Closter-Seven was signed. On the 21st the fleet appeared before Rochfort. and it was then known that they intended to attack it; but as the officers had formed no plan to be followed in this enterprize, some time was taken up in fixing upon one. A concurrence of mistakes ruined this expedition: And it will be hard to determine, whether they were purposely framed or accidentally fell out. The French nation is said to have been alarmed by the troops lying on the Isle of Wight some time before they sailed, and they had very good intelligence from England. Two days after the fleet made the enemy's land, the Viper sloop was dispatched from England, with the following letter from mr. Secretary Pitt to sir Edward Hawke, and to sir John Mordaunt, dated Whitehall, September 15, 1757, and received by them on board the Ramillies on the 22d day of September.

‘ ‘ SIR,

‘ HIS Majesty, by his secret instructions, dated the 5th
‘ day of August last, having directed the return of the
‘ fleet under your command, together with the land forces on
‘ board,’ “ to ‘as to be in England at, or about, as near as
‘ may be, the end of September, unless the circumstances of
‘ the ships and forces shall necessarily require their return
‘ sooner:” ‘ I am now to signify to you the King’s pleasure,
‘ that you do not consider the abovementioned time, limited
‘ for your return, as intended in any manner to affect, or in-
‘ terfere with, the full exertion of the first and principal object
‘ of the expedition; namely,’ “ Attempting, as far as shall
be

“ be found practicable, a descent on the French coast, at or
 “ near Rochefort, in order to attack if practicable, and, by a
 “ vigorous impression, force that place, and to burn and de-
 “ stroy, to the utmost of your power, all shipping, docks,
 “ magazines, and arsenals, that shall be found there, and ex-
 “ ert such other efforts, as shall be judged most proper for an-
 “ noying the enemy.” “ And with regard to any other par-
 “ ticular attempt, which, agreeably to your orders, you shall
 “ have commenced, and in the execution whereof you shall be
 “ actually engaged, it is also his Majesty’s pleasure that you do
 “ not desist from, or break up the same, merely and solely on
 “ account of the time, limited for your return, by the instruc-
 “ tions abovementioned; but that, notwithstanding the same,
 “ you do continue with the fleet, during such a farther number
 “ of days as may afford a competent time, for the completion
 “ of any operation under the above circumstances; after which
 “ you are to take care to return, with the fleet under your com-
 “ mand, and the forces on board, in the manner directed by
 “ your former instructions.

“ I am, &c.

“ W. PITT.

It has been supposed by some, that this sloop, or the Har-
 wich man of war, which failed at that time from Plymouth
 on the same destination, carried other dispatches, of a more
 secret nature, and said to be utterly unknown to the minister.

On the 23d of September it was resolved to secure the little
 island of Aix, situated in the mouth of the river Charante,
 which runs up to Rochefort, as it was apprehended the French
 on this island might make some obstruction to the landing of
 the troops; accordingly captain, now commodore, Howe, in
 the Magnanime, almost instantly reduced it, with the loss only
 of two sailors. At the time this little conquest was made, it
 was expected the troops were to be immediately landed; but
 on the 25th, the military officers resolved in a council of war,
 that an attempt upon Rochefort was neither adviseable nor
 practicable. On the 8th of October, after having most impru-
 dently alarmed the French coast, it was resolved to land at the
 mouth of the river Charante, and at twelve o’clock at night
 the troops were put into the boats, where they remained four
 hours on a boisterous sea, and then were ordered back again.
 Upon which admiral Broderick gave notice to sir Edward
 Hawke, “ That having prepared all the boats with proper
 “ officers to land the troops, he was now to acquaint him,
 “ that the generals were come to a resolution not to land that
 “ night,

‘night, but to wait till day-light, when they could have a
‘full view of the ground whereon they were to land.’ Sir
Edward then desired mr. Broderick to enquire of the general
officers, whether they had any further military operations to
propose, that the squadron might not be unnecessarily detain-
ed: To which the commander of the land-forces sent this an-
swer: ‘We all agree in returning directly to England.’ Upon
which sir Edward sent a letter to mr. Pitt, the conclusion of
which is thus: ‘It was the *daily* expectation of their under-
‘taking something, which induced me to stay here so long.
‘As I have got their final resolution, I shall set sail for England
‘to-morrow morning.’ When the fleet arrived, the whole
nation was in a ferment; they exclaimed against the comman-
ders, and cried aloud for justice on those who had neglected
their duty. The officers blamed the ministry; who, to acquit
themselves, directed an enquiry to be made into the causes of
the miscarriage. The officers appointed to make this enquiry,
gave it as their opinion, that the causes of the miscarriage
were, ‘Not attacking fort Fouras by sea, at the same time
‘that it could have been attacked by land: and coming to
‘a resolution on the 25th of September, that an attempt on
‘Rochfort was neither adviseable nor practicable, though at
‘that time there were no troops nor batteries on shore to pre-
‘vent a descent.’ It is proper to explain this matter. Sir
Edward Hawke first proposed laying a sixty gun ship against
Fouras, in order to facilitate the landing of the troops, and
Thierry, a noted French pilot, who gave much of that infor-
mation on which the expedition was planned, undertook to
conduct such a ship for that purpose; but it was laid aside upon
a representation from vice-admiral Knowles, that even a
bomb ketch had run aground at above two miles distant from
the fort. As it is probable those who conducted the bomb
ketch missed the channel through ignorance, and a sloop might
be driven on a sand at the mouth of the Thames, by a pilot
ignorant of the navigation of that river, it excited wonder
and astonishment, that Thierry (who in sir Edward Hawke’s
letter to mr. Pitt, is said to behave with great bravery and
skill) had declared he could carry the *Magnanime*, a seventy-
four gun ship, within a quarter mile of Fort Fouras, and was
not permitted to try his skill.-----Several evidences prove the at-
tempt to land *was practicable*. Lieutenant-colonel Clark said,
that he, with three more officers, went on shore, and walked
two miles, over a spongy neck of land, called Isle Denis, to
the solid continent, *without molestation*; and he said the army
might easily have landed at Chatelaillon Bay. This opinion
he

he formed on the spot. Colonel Wolfe (who afterwards took Quebec) confirmed his opinion, viz. that a landing on that bay might have been made entirely out of the reach of the enemy's artillery. Admiral Broderick described this landing-place to be a fair, hard, sandy beach, and in his opinion a landing might have been made here with ease, for the transports could come within half a mile of the bay. Thus a principal cause of the miscarriage was attributed to the military officers. However, the commander in chief, in order to vindicate himself, applied for a court martial, which was accordingly granted. He was brought prisoner before the court and charged with disobedience of orders; but after the same evidences were examined, with the addition of admiral Hawke's deposition, he was declared *not guilty*. However the public discontent was far from subsiding, and a suspicion was harboured that the miscarriage was owing to some secret cause; yet the ministry kept their ground, and were allowed to have laid the scheme on true principles for annoying the enemy, on the best intelligence, well compared, and frequently deliberated upon, though all things considered, a profound secrecy was observed as to the destination of so powerful an armament. Mr. Pitt, immediately on the fleet's return, published the orders which were transmitted to the commanders, concluding, *That on such a day the forces arrived without having landed on the coast of France*. This was an honest appeal to the people, which gained him their entire confidence; and it was well rewarded in the discovery he made, by this fruitless expedition, of such an enterprising genius as Wolfe.

An attempt was made in the city to petition for a parliamentary enquiry into this affair, which was prevented by a message from the King to the Mansion-house, acquainting the Lord Mayor, that he would order an enquiry to be made into the conduct of those concerned. From that enquiry it appears the King's orders were disobeyed and yet the General was acquitted, when Byng's disgrace and ignominious death were fresh in people's memories, which strengthened the suspicion that something not proper to be explained had rendered this expedition abortive.

Notwithstanding it had failed, the European powers concerned in naval affairs saw plainly into the spirit of this measure, and began to change their opinion of the British councils. They saw our warlike system was founded on [conveniency, and that we were not discouraged though the first attempt had failed. Sweden and Denmark concluded a treaty, in consequence

sequence of which their squadrons united for the security of their ports in the Baltick. The Dutch augmented their naval force, and the Italian states, in conjunction with the king of Naples, took every precaution for the security of their ports. Spain and Portugal trusted to their extensive commerce with Britain for security. France only was unprepared for an enemy who could vary his method of attack, and was actually preparing a variety of successive schemes to attack her with the utmost vigour. She saw the people and the ministry united; neither the confidence of one nor the openness of the other was abused; the spirit of the nation was ready to execute whatever a minister of whose abilities they were convinced should propose. They had experienced his honesty, and found him neither influenced by party nor self-interest; an unbounded love of his country swallowed up every personal regard. His enemies were confounded; his friends were transported with admiration at the splendor of such public virtue. Unanimity was the necessary effect of it; and the most effectual measures were pursued in consequence, both to humble the enemy by sea, protect our colonies in America, act on the offensive there, ruin the French armies in Germany, cover the territories which they had wasted to spight Britain, re-arm the insulted troops, and enable them to chase those plunderers cross the Weser again. Add to all this the timely support given to his Prussian majesty, when he might otherwise have been crushed, though confessedly the most active and punctual ally which this nation had been engaged with.

All this considered we do not wonder at the number of men or the immense sums raised for the ensuing year. On the 1st of December the parliament met; they voted sixty thousand seamen, and fifty-four thousand soldiers; and the supplies amounted to 10,486,457*l*. Near two millions of this was for our German allies, and yet there appeared a perfect harmony in the house and an approbation of the measure in all ranks of people.

Indeed the true case was, the old ministers were reconciled to the new ones; at least both parties came to a kind of capitulation, and while they were unanimous in council, it was not very probable that their adherents should differ in parliament. Add to all this, the King became better reconciled to Mr. Pitt, because they perfectly agreed in one very principal point, which was that of an inveterate hatred to the French; in which the whole nation agreed with them: But the difficulty lay in the means how to exert this vindictive spirit and give it its full effect with the strength of the whole nation; each

each was wedded to opposite principles: His Majesty was for a continental war, on account of his native and electoral dominions; Mr. Pitt was for a naval war, as the only method of ruining the French trade, aggrandizing this nation, and securing its dependencies. We will only add, that no favour was used by one, nor any low cunning by the other; both were desirous of the public welfare; they were equally above baseness, and equally desirous of reducing the enemy. Mr. Pitt neither wanted nor sought closet favour, in order to undermine his fellow-servants; and his Majesty equally detested being dictated to: He was a warrior himself, an admirer of resolution and spirit; he had been bred to the camp and to real business. Hence arose that noble independency of spirit, which crushes the very embryos of intrigue, and all the little arts of narrow minds: Hence it was, that after the ministry were settled, the national business went on with success, and without interruption: No babbling tales of courtiers, no spies in the enemy's pay, could either divert Mr. Pitt, or impede the operations of the war.

(1758.)

WE now come to the most glorious æra in the British annals; an æra that is resplendent with victories, proclaiming to the latest period of time the glory and valour of Britons in subduing their proud and implacable enemies. In the month of March a small armament was sent under the command of commodore Marsh, and a detachment of marines, commanded by major Mason, to attack the French settlements at Senegal. The project had been originally conceived by one Mr. Cumming, a sensible quaker, who had been a factor on the coast of Africa, by which he had contracted an acquaintance with the Moorish King of that part of South Barbary, called by us the Gum Coast, or the Sandy Desert of Zara, who being well disposed towards the English, and bearing an utter enmity to the French, declared he should never be easy till they were entirely driven from the river of Senegal: He told Mr. Cumming, that if the King of England would send a force sufficient, and drive out the French, he would grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. At the same time he favoured Mr. Cumming with an exclusive trade, by a charter written in the Arabic language. Mr. Cumming, during his stay in Africa, made the most minute enquiry concerning the strength and situation of the French. At his return to Eng-

land he communicated his intelligence to the Board of Trade, and with it a plan for attacking the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The ministry adopted the scheme; and Mr. Cumming, being the contriver of it, was appointed principal director of the expedition, and sailed with it, charged with a letter of credence to the Moorish King. The fleet arrived on the coast of Africa in April; and, notwithstanding the obstruction of a very dangerous bar at the mouth of the river Senegal, the marines were landed (May 1.) on the bank of the river. Upon which the French governor of fort Louis surrendered directly; and next day the corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to the King of England. This was the first successful expedition which the British ministry had sent out during the war, and failed not to be greatly instrumental in removing our despondency. The conquest of Senegal added to the commercial interests of Britain, and poured fresh wealth into the hands of her traders: The commodities imported from this settlement are that valuable article gum senega, hides, bees-wax, elephants teeth, cotton, gold dust, negro slaves, ostrich feathers, ambergris, indigo and civet. Hitherto we had been obliged to buy our gum senega of the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and then set what price they pleased on it to us. After the surrender of Senegal, the fleet visited the island of Goree, another French settlement at the entrance of the river; but found it too strong to be attempted by their small force.

When Mr. Pitt first came into the administration, Commodore Stevens was dispatched with a squadron and some troops, to reinforce his Majesty's fleet in the East-Indies, in order to act there with discretionary power, while his attention was employed on other objects nearer home. Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive having gained many advantages over the enemy, it was not only Mr. Pitt's aim to improve them, while the heat and thirst of conquest prevailed; but likewise to prevent the French deriving any material services in India from a fleet, which they had sent, commanded by M. d'Ache, and 8000 troops, which were put on board, commanded by General Lally. Commodore Stevens joined Admiral Pococke, who had succeeded to the chief command on the death of Admiral Watson. M. d'Ache arrived at Pondicherry, where General Lally with the troops were landed. The scene of action was now to begin. M. Lally had boasted before he left Europe, that he would drive the English totally off the coast of Coromandel. He was warm and fool-hardy; and full of the idea of conquest which had the ascendancy of his imagination when he took the

the field; he vaunted of the great acts he would perform, and the cruelties he resolved to inflict on the English; but, like a true barbarian whose passion exceeds his reason, or one bereft of prudence, he precipitately opened the campaign before he had provided the means of support for his army, which had been considerably augmented by several reinforcements. He marched directly against fort St. David, while the French fleet sailed away to cover the siege.

Admiral Pococke having intelligence of these proceedings, sailed likewise to fort St. David, and engaged the French fleet, which being superior in number, and three of the British captains behaving in a cowardly manner, he gained no material advantage, though he continued the fight with great inequality till night, when the two fleets separated; the French returned to Pondicherry, and the English to Madras, to repair their damages. Both squadrons having quitted the station off fort St. David, Lally pushed the siege of that place with vigour; which being in want of water and ammunition, major Polier, who commanded the troops, surrendered in twelve days. The conqueror blew up the fortifications, and reduced the place to a heap of rubbish; and besides plundering the inhabitants, as well of fort St. David as of all the villa's round about, he wantonly set fire to their habitations, and endeavoured to destroy the produce of the whole country. But what was the consequence? Lally found, that by making a desert of the country he was unable to subsist his army; and, to his misfortune, the finances of France were so extremely low, by the large subsidies which the French were obliged to pay several of the European powers, to form and preserve the continental system of Europe against Prussia and Hanover, that their ministry could not afford to send him any money; so that now he could neither buy nor plunder. In this dilemma he resolved to extort a considerable sum from the king of Tanjore, a prince of the country; but that chief refusing to comply with the request, he in a rage marched his army and laid siege to the capital. The skill and courage of some English engineers bravely defended the place: In a short time Lally's ammunition began to run low and his provisions were entirely exhausted. The people of the country, who had either heard of, or suffered by his cruelties, cut off all the supplies to his army in return for his barbarities, which reduced him almost to a state of famine. At length, unable to stay any longer, he, tortured with all the pangs of chagrin and disappointment, raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, and left his cannon behind. He returned to Pondicherry, in the
neigh-

neighbourhood of which the troops were refreshed. In the month of October he marched into Arcot, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madrafs. Lally's army at this time was so numerous, that the English forces on the coast of Coromandel were insufficient to oppose him in the field. Soon after the surrender of fort St. David, admiral Pococke again failed in quest of the French fleet, whom he found off Pondicherry; but they no sooner saw him, than they put to sea in the utmost hurry: He then gave chase and on the third day came up with them; but the French would not stand a fair engagement; they made a kind of running fight in an irregular line till night, when, under favour of the darkness, they escaped back to Pondicherry. However they were so much damaged by this engagement, that after a short stay there, d'Ache was obliged to sail to the island of Bourbon to refit, leaving the sovereignty of the Indian seas to admiral Steevens, whose fleet was much inferior to his in number of ships, men, and weight of metal. When Lally formed his resolution of laying siege to Madrafs, he sent orders to Golconda for m. de Bussey and m. Morcain to join him with part of their forces, and leave the command of the remainder at Massulipatum to the marquis de Conflans. Soon after m. de Bussey was departed, the neighbouring powers resolved to throw off the French yoke, and entering one of the towns which the French possessed, tore down the colours; upon which Conflans resolved to check their insolence, and marched his forces against them. In this distress the chief applied to colonel Clive at Calcutta for assistance; who, after deliberating on the nature and consequence of the enterprize, detached colonel Forde with a body of Europeans. This officer attacked m. de Conflans in the month of December, and gained a complete victory over him. Massulipatum fell in consequence: The English gained possession of an extensive sea coast, and other considerable advantages, besides being paid for their assistance; and likewise concluded a treaty with another chief, in which it was agreed, that the French should be totally extirpated the country.

As the primary object of the war was America, mr. Pitt lost no time in exerting his vigilance, and making early preparations for effectually crushing the enemy's power in that part of the world. At this time the German affairs, though they tenderly touched the king, were not of such importance, as to engross any thing more than a small part of the attention of the ministry: Mr. Pitt was not yet brought to consider them as of the highest importance; he was still for reducing
the

the enemy's settlements abroad, particularly in America; and assisting Germany only by annoying the coast of France. The first object that he aimed at was Louisbourg, a place of the utmost importance to the French, which when taken, would be a great step towards annihilating their power in North America. For this purpose, he proposed at the beginning of the year to equip a large fleet. His precaution directed all the necessary preparations to be timely executed, his penetration and love for the publick pointed out the fittest officers for service, having declared with some warmth on the inactivity and disgraces in America during the last year, ' That he believed there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of their country. He affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers, for the honour and interest of his British dominions yet scarce a man could be found, with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of any danger, could with confidence be trusted. He particularized the inactivity of one gentleman in North America, from whom the nation had conceived great expectations; he complained, that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power; from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit for a considerable length of time any other advice of his proceedings, but what appeared on a written scrap of paper. He observed, that with a force by sea and land, greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and ministry ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal, than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries.'

This spirited remonstrance was made on a public and solemn occasion, and it had a wonderful effect; men capable of serving their country; men of courage, ability and merit, were employed. Accordingly admiral Boscawen, with a fleet of men of war, and a considerable number of land forces, set sail from England on the 19th of February. This was timing things in a proper manner; the enemy had yet no force in America equal to what admiral Boscawen carried, nor any commander of equal capacity and reputation. However, as soon as they were acquainted with that brave officer's destination, they equipped two fleets at different ports for the relief of Louisbourg:

bourg: One at Toulon, the commander of which was m. de la Clue; but every thing was prepared in order to frustrate these designs; an English fleet, under the direction of admiral Osborn, was stationed at the Streights of Gibraltar. The French court equipped a second squadron at Toulon, to strengthen de la Clue, and enable him to force his way through the Streights; the command of this squadron was given to m. de Quesne. De la Clue had failed before the other was ready, and was blocked up by admiral Osborn in the Spanish port of Carthagena. Du Quesne came to relieve him, and fell in with the English fleet, when the Monmouth of 64 guns, captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant of 80 guns, commanded by du Quesne in person, for a considerable time, and it is thought would alone have taken her, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's force; but two other English ships coming up, du Quesne struck to the Monmouth, the captain of whom was killed, but the ship was bravely fought by the first lieutenant, mr. Carkett. The Orphee, another of the enemy's ships, was likewise taken; and the third, called the Oriflamme, was drove ashore on the coast of Spain. The only remaining vessel of this squadron was a frigate, named the Pleiade, which being an excellent sailor, escaped back to Toulon, and carried the tidings of this disaster. Thus was the scheme of relieving Louisbourg frustrated; for m. de la Clue, not being able to force his passage through the Streights, returned to Toulon, where his ships were laid up. The other fleet designed to succour North America, was equipped at Rochfort; it consisted of five ships of war, two frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops; but Sir Edward Hawke was sent in April with a fleet to prevent their sailing. The enemy had just weighed anchor, when seeing him approach, they ran their ships ashore, and threw their guns, stores, lading, and even ballast overboard, in order to lighten them and run them further out of his reach. Thus the design and the equipment were totally defeated; and it has been said, that the guns, stores, and lading, were entirely lost. A number of small boats were employed to drag the ships through the mud, by which they were preserved; but they did not attempt to venture out to sea again. In the mean time admiral Boscawen arrived in America, where the plans of three different operations were to be executed for the speedy reduction of the enemy. The conduct of lord Loudon, who was last year commander in chief in America, had not given that satisfaction which was expected from him; it was considered as inactive; therefore he was called home, and the command devolved on major general

general Abercrombie. A grand equipment was now getting in readiness at Portsmouth; a strong squadron of men of war lay at Spithead, with a sufficient number of transports for an army that was assembling at the Isle of Wight; and boats of a new invention were provided for the more safe and expeditious landing of troops. These formidable preparations were intended to alarm the French coasts more effectually and extensively than had been hitherto attempted, and convince all Europe that Britain was above the fears of an invasion, while France might seriously expect it. There were other ends which the ministry had in view. Affairs in Germany grew more interesting; a new treaty had been concluded with the king of Prussia, and it was judged true policy as well as humane to support him. The French had shewn their readiness to crush him by joining what was called the Execution Army. It's true they had been defeated, but they were advancing again with a numerous army, which they proposed to strengthen considerably. The expedition would find them employment to guard an extensive coast at home wherever an impression could be made; the damage done to their marine might disable the enemy without hurting ourselves, as an alarm was all we intended. Formidable plans were in the mean time laid down in America; these were pushed with vigour, but less noise. The expedition to France was to strike terror, and was truly formidable. That to Louisbourg was early dispatched, sufficiently strong, well appointed; and the happy choice of commanders shews, that it was intended for conquest, while the other served to distract the enemy and divide his attention between the defence of his own coasts and the broils of Germany, during which the foundation of our conquests was laid in America.

The armament at Spithead was compleated by the latter end of May; it consisted of two squadrons: The strongest was commanded by lord Anson, who was to watch the enemy's ports, and prevent their ships from sailing to America, or from attacking the lesser squadron with the troops; this was under commodore Howe, together with the transports, having thirteen thousand men on board, with a train of artillery under the duke of Marlborough, a name ominous to the French on account of his brave and fortunate ancestor.

This force the commodore safely landed on the 5th of June in Cancele bay, near St. Malo; the town being found too strong to attempt, they set fire to an hundred sail of shipping in a basin, under the cannon of the castle, without ever giving time to fire a gun at them; they likewise burned fe-

veral magazines of naval stores, and did other considerable damage to the enemy: Having nothing further to propose here, they re-embarked without molestation, and reconnoitred the coast towards the town of Cherbourg; but their provisions being short, and the soldiers sickly, by being so long cooped up in their transports, they returned to St. Helen's on the 29th. Though this expedition was successful, and did great damage to the enemy, proving that he was vulnerable upon his own coast, and also answered so many other intentions both in Germany and America, yet there was no other way to preserve the harmony so lately established but sending British troops to Germany. This was weakening our power at home; and, if the expeditions to France should be continued, which would be much better than letting the ships lie idle, it would expose us to the laughter of our enemies, being, with a handful of men, only enabled to make little desultory efforts, and immediately obliged to re-embark, perhaps, with difficulty and hazard; all which, in the end, proved to be the case; and yet, from so many unforeseen embarrassments, there was no preventing these evils. In the second expedition the command of the land forces was given to general Bligh; his royal highness prince Edward, now duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe: On the 6th of August they were landed near Cherbourg, where they destroyed the mole, pier, basin, sluices, floodgates, and many other excellent works for making a complete, convenient, and strong harbour, begun, but not yet finished, at a prodigious expence to the French King: They burnt some vessels which they found in the harbour, and took hostages for the payment of contributions which they levied, and put on board the ships twenty pieces of brass cannon and two mortars, which they found in the place. This ordnance was brought to England, and, for a while, they lay in Hyde-park for public view, and were afterwards carried in triumph to the Tower. Many people considered this parade, as calculated to keep the people in good humour to support the expence of the war; and it must be owned these sights forcibly strike ordinary minds: but it is strange to see men of sense intoxicate themselves in this low, illiberal manner. On the 16th the troops were re-embarked, perhaps with a design of visiting some other part of the enemy's coast, but the fleet was driven back to England, where it remained only two days without landing the troops, and then returned to the coast of France: A second time the troops were landed near St. Malo; it is astonishing to think what the general could mean by this disembarkation,

ation, since the Duke of Marlborough with a superior force had done all that possibly could be done in this neighbourhood, except he meant to take the town; but finding he could not, he imprudently marched into the country, while the fleet, for the better conveniency of receiving the troops, moved into the bay of St. Cas. However, upon having certain intelligence brought him, that the Duke d'Aguillon, with a superior force, was in full march against him, he resolved to return to the ships; yet from some unaccountable fatality, though the troops were not far from the shore, a great deal of time was unnecessarily and prodigally thrown away in performing this retreat. Most people apprehend, that, with prudence, the troops might have been reembarked unmolested; as it was, the enemy, though at a much greater distance, gained the beach as soon as the English: It is true, the major part of our troops were put on board the transports before the enemy ventured to appear; but the rear-guard, composed of grenadiers, and the first regiment of guards, amounting in the whole to about 1500 men, under the command of major-general Dury, for Bligh was gone on board the fleet, were at this time on the beach. Dury following the dictates of rage and despair, permitted the enemy without hindrance to assemble in great numbers in his front, and, when that was done, he attacked them; his efforts were seconded by the frigates and bomb-ketches, ranged along the shore; the troops fought in a most courageous manner, and their bravery was worthy of a better fortune; in a little time their ammunition was expended, and they of course gave way before superior numbers; the enemy at first gave no quarter, but the ships ceasing to fire clemency was shewn, and part of our troops surrendered at discretion, and the rest jumped into the sea and were drowned, among whom was Dury himself. Some few were carried to the ships in boats; but a much greater number might have been saved, had the sailors emptied their boats into the first ship they came to, and returned directly to the beach for the rest; but instead of that they inconsiderately preserved a punctilio, in carrying the troops to the particular transport they came out of, without reflecting on the distance of situation. The fleets returned home, and went to France no more that season. Bligh suffered greatly in his reputation, and, as some think, undeservedly. The people of England were dispirited by this affair, far more than they ought to have been, considering it was a transaction of but little moment; and the whole purpose of this expedition was answered by covering our designs else-

where, asserting our superiority by sea and employing the enemy at home.

The expedition to Louisbourg owed its success to this, as the French were confined to their own coasts. The fleet under admiral Boscawen, arrived at Halifax, together with the troops, in number about twelve thousand, commanded by major-general Amherst, who was assisted by brigadier-general Wolfe. On the 28th of May this armament departed from Halifax, and on the 2d of June the fleet appeared off Louisbourg; but there was such a prodigious swell all along the shore, that they were six days off the coast before a landing was found practicable. The governor of Louisbourg in the interim exerted all his skill to prevent their landing; he established a chain of posts that extended two leagues and a half along the most accessible parts of the beach; where he threw up intrenchments and erected batteries: The harbour was defended by five ships of the line and five frigates, three of which he ordered to be sunk at the mouth of the channel, to prevent the English fleet getting in; but all these precautions were not sufficient to check the ardour and resolution of the English officers, who, as soon as the swell was abated, lost not a moment's time in landing. Brigadier-general Wolfe, to his immortal honour, with an intrepidity unparalleled, gained this material point, in spite of the enemy's utmost efforts; he jumped out of the boat with his sword drawn, up to the waist in water, and resolutely gained the shore; the rest of the troops followed him, and bore down all that opposed them. The enemy fled, and the town of Louisbourg was invested. But the siege could not be prosecuted with safety until the enemy's ships in the harbour were taken, as they could bring their guns to bear upon the English camp: Therefore general Wolfe immediately secured a place called the Light-house Battery, and another more material, called the Island Battery; when one of the enemy's great ships was set on fire by the bombs, which communicated to two others, and all three were consumed. Only two now remained, which the admiral undertook to secure, in order to gain possession of the harbour; he manned the boats of the squadron, and in two divisions, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour, he sent them into the harbour in a dark night. These gallant heroes boarded the enemy's ships sword in hand, and one, being a-ground, they set her on fire, and towed the other out in triumph. The governor of the town having now no resource, nor the English any impediment to hinder their operations, the next day, being July 26, surrendered the whole island of Cape Breton.

ton. The garrison were made prisoners of war, amounting upon the whole, including such of the inhabitants as bore arms, the irregulars, seamen, &c. to 5637. It is well worthy observation in this place, that now we behold the real number of that formidable garrison, which the year before, when other commanders were on that station, it was not deemed prudent to attack. When this conquest was atchieved, admiral Boscawen detached lord Rollo to take possession of the island of St. John's, which instantly submitted to the British government. When the news of these glorious and inestimable conquests arrived in England, a general joy diffus'd itself throughout the whole kingdom: The wisdom of the ministers, and the courage of the commanders, every Englishman was proud to extol; and addresses of congratulation from all parts were presented to the throne.

The possession of Cape Breton was a valuable acquisition to Great-Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalship from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. When the plan of this conquest was originally laid down, during the preceding war, it was demonstrated, that it would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North America, which would annually return to Great Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations, and employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public, as it would increase the shipping and mariners, and greatly extend navigation.

Other plans were this year executed in America. Brigadier-general Forbes was to go with about eight thousand men to attack Fort Du Quesne, near the Ohio, and seize the lands which the French had usurped: And general Abercrombie, the commander in chief, with about sixteen thousand men, was to reduce Crown Point, in order to open a road to the frontiers of Canada. The latter of these plans did not succeed. The vanguard of the army, in it's rout to Ticonderoga, a place which the general intended first to reduce before he attempted Crown Point, fell in with a party of the enemy's Indians; bush-fighting ensued, in which the gallant, the admired, and much-lamented lord Howe was slain. Notwithstanding this little disaster the army marched up to Ticonderoga on July 9. Here they found the enemy had felled a great number of trees, and raised works to prevent the British troops approaching in regular order; the enemy had likewise thrown up intrenchments, and raised a breast-work eight feet high to cover the body of the place: However,
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the troops advanced in the best manner possible; with an undaunted resolution they mounted the works sword in hand, unsupported by their artillery, which was not yet brought up, or any thing that could give the least hope of success, except what they could derive from their own personal prowess. In this naked manner they for four hours maintained a most bloody and unequal conflict. The fire was terrible, as it was both from musquetry and cannon, and discharged in such volleys, it was impossible to sustain the weight. The enemy being securely covered by their works, which had been vainly attempted to be stormed, and there being no prospect of any thing but an increase of slaughter, the general ordered the troops to be drawn off, and to retreat, after the loss of about two thousand men; which was accordingly done without any molestation from the enemy. More fortunate, however, was an enterprize, which general Abercrombie detached lieutenant, colonel Bradstreet to undertake. This officer, with three thousand men, was ordered to attack Fort Fronteniac, situated on the river St. Lawrence, which when he approached, surrendered at discretion, on August 27, notwithstanding there were in it sixty pieces of cannon and sixteen mortars: He likewise took all the enemy's armed vessels on the Lake. Brigadier Forbes in the mean time marched towards Fort Du Quesne; but when his van-guard, under the command of major Grant, who designed to take the place by surprise, had approached within a few miles of the fort, he was surrounded by a greatly superior part of the enemy's troops and Indians; on which an obstinate and cruel engagement began, which the English with their usual courage maintained near three hours, when being almost cut to pieces, and major Grant, with nineteen other officers, and a number of troops, made prisoners, they retreated and joined the main army. Notwithstanding the loss in this skirmish, brigadier Forbes advanced; but the enemy, reflecting that their works could not withstand regular approaches, prudently abandoned the fort in time, and retired to their settlements on the Mississippi. Next day, being November 25th, the English troops, without opposition, took possession of the fort; the contention for which, with the lands contiguous to it, had kindled up the flames of war. The troops and officers stimulated by success, and glorying in the minister who directed their operations in so wise and effectual a manner, instantly changed the name of the fort, and, with a propriety and compliment, which need not be pointed out, gave it the name of PITTSBURG.

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The allied army in Germany, being assembled again, was put in motion under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; they advanced in the month of January into the country of Bremen where, in a very short time, they dislodged the enemy out of all the towns there. The duke de Richelieu, finding he could not stop their progress, was stimulated to commit the most unparalleled acts of wanton and unprovoked barbarity; among these, was that burning the orphan house at Zell, while the people were in it, and other instances of rapine and oppression: The French ministry were dissatisfied with his conduct, and therefore recalled him, and gave the command of the army to the count de Clermont: This was the third commander which was appointed to the French army in one year; a circumstance which sufficiently evinces the unsteadiness of their councils. Clermont found the troops in a most miserable condition; the winter excursions, a want of necessaries, hard duty, severe weather and distempers, had reduced them to a wretched remnant; they abandoned the cities of Hanover and Zell and retired towards Hamelen: The town of Hoya upon the Weser was surprised by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who had voluntarily entered into the army, in which he afterwards frequently signalized himself; but this was his first exploit. After the taking of Hoya, Clermont retreated to the Rhine, and having passed that river, he intrenched his army until he should receive reinforcements from France. The town of Embden, belonging to the king of Prussia, situated on the river Ems, next the sea, of which the French had been in possession some time, was now taken by an English squadron, under commodore Holmes; the French garrison evacuated the place; it was afterwards a port to land the British troops at, who were from time to time sent to reinforce the allies, and perhaps it was taken with that view. Prince Ferdinand followed the count de Clermont to the Rhine; and having passed that river, he took his measures so well, that he found means to attack the enemy's left wing at Crevelt on the 23d of June, which he routed and dispersed after a short dispute, in which the French lost of slain and prisoners, between 4 and 5000 men.

Among the French officers who were slain in this action, one deserves particular notice. He was the young count de Gisors, only son of the duke de Belleisle, the last hope of a noble family, and lately married to the heiress of an illustrious house. He possessed many extraordinary accomplishments as well as uncommon genius. He was mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, as he was bringing it up with the most heroic courage,

rage, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

Clermont having collected the fugitives, retired and took refuge under the cannon of Cologne; where he was a tame spectator of the reduction of Dusseldrop by the allies. However, the conquerors derived no kind of advantage from their victory: It seemed to have been only fought for the sake of displaying the genius of the general. The French army, being on their own frontiers, were soon reinforced; and another army was assembled on the other side of the Rhine, under the command of the prince de Soubise. Measures were then taken in England for reinforcing the allied army, and a corps under the duke of Marlborough was landed at Embden for that purpose. At this time the count de Clermont resigned his command, which was conferred on m. Contades, who threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn; but the prince resolved to lie quiet, until he should be joined by the British troops: He flattered himself, that the Hessian troops, commanded by the prince of Isenbourg, would prevent Soubise from entering Hesse, until he received the reinforcements, when he purposed to transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country; but the duke de Broglie, who was detached by the prince de Soubise, attacked and defeated the prince of Isenbourg on the 23d of July at Sangerhausen, and thereby not only opened a passage for the French troops into Westphalia, but likewise gave them possession of the Weser; advantages which more than counterbalanced those which prince Ferdinand had gained by the action at Crevelt. This prince now began to think of repassing the Rhine in order to effect his junction with the duke of Marlborough, which he had reason to apprehend the prince of Soubise would endeavour to prevent. M. de Chevert, an able French general, had passed the Rhine with 12,000 men, in order to besiege Dusseldrop; but finding that impracticable by the late heavy rains, he resolved to dislodge baron Imhoff, an Hanoverian officer, who was posted with 3000 men at Meer, to cover the bridge over the Rhine at Rees, to secure a considerable magazine there, and preserve a communication between prince Ferdinand and the duke of Marlborough: Chevert's design was to seize the magazine, burn the bridge, and cut off the English troops. With this view he attacked Imhoff on the 5th of August; this officer having notice of his intentions, had taken his measures so well, that in half an hour he repulsed the French officer with loss, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Wesel. This little victory was productive of great advantages to the allies: Imhoff quitted his post

post at Meer, and marched to meet the duke of Marlborough, with whom he happily effected a junction, which had hitherto been attended with many difficulties. Prince Ferdinand without any difficulty repassed the Rhine, and drew nearer to the prince of Isenbourg; and that prince collected all his fugitives; and began to recover from his disorder; but Gottingen was, in the mean time, reduced by the prince de Soubise, who perceiving the Hessians reassemble shewed a design of attacking them again; upon which prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg, with 13,000 men, to reinforce them and take the command of the whole: However, they were still greatly inferior to Soubise's army, which unexpectedly attacked them on the last day of September, at Llanwerhagen in Hesse, and defeated them with the loss of 1500 men: Their defeat was not total, as they effected a retreat in tolerable order, nor could Soubise reap any advantage from the victory, the season being too far advanced. Prince Ferdinand had by this time retired into Westphalia, into which country Contades followed him, and both armies took up their winter-quarters in it. The fatigues of the campaign occasioned a fever to break out and rage among the allied troops, which carried off great numbers of the English in particular, because they were not accustomed to the climate and diet; nor indeed enjoyed any benefits which their German friends could deprive them of, tho' they were come to lay down their lives in their defence. This contagion cut off the duke of Marlborough at Munster; the numbers of private men, which were carried off by the same cause, were perhaps concealed for reasons of state; because in a government like ours, where things depend so much on popularity, any intelligence which tends to render odious a favourite cause, are for the most part industriously hid; yet the death of a great man, especially a commander in chief, cannot be concealed. The command devolved upon lord George Sackville.

During the winter the king of Prussia levied in Saxony the most heavy contributions; the unfortunate city of Leipzig was punished with military execution. Mecklenburgh was plundered, and its Duke obliged to fly to Lubeck. As soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweidnitz, and on the 16th of April obliged it to surrender. He was now once more in possession of all Silesia. And it having been found impossible to separate Britain from the continent, the engagements entered into by the former administration were now cemented in a still stronger manner. The confederacy against the King of Prussia being too powerful for him,

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he, in all probability, would be crushed if not supported by England; and if he fell, Hanover would instantly fall likewise. The latter was the tender point, and at a peace it must be regained, even if it should be set at the high price of all our conquests. According to this reasoning, which was supposed to be the system of those days, it was the interest of Britain to support the King of Prussia with vigour. The people were unanimous in their desires of doing it: The fame of his victories had gained their esteem. It was at this time that the treaty with Prussia was made; a translation of which, as it is remarkable, we shall here insert.

‘ Whereas a treaty between their Britannic and Prussian majesties was concluded and signed on the 16th day of January 1756, the stipulations whereof tended to the preservation of the general peace of Europe, and of Germany in particular: And whereas since that period France has not only invaded the empire with numerous armies, and attacked their aforesaid Majesties and their Allies, but has also excited other powers to act in like manner: And whereas it is so notorious, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian Majesty to defend himself against the number of enemies, who have attacked him on so many sides at once, have occasioned a very great and burthensome expence; whilst, on the other hand, his revenues have been greatly diminished in those parts of his dominions which have been the seat of war; and their Majesties having mutually determined to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, for the protection of their Allies, and the preservation of the liberties of the Germanic body; his Britannic Majesty has resolved, in consequence of these considerations, to give an immediate succour, in money, to his Prussian Majesty, as the speediest and most effectual; and their aforesaid Majesties have thought proper, that a convention should be made thereupon, in order to declare and ascertain their reciprocal intentions in this respect; for which purpose they have appointed and authorized their respective ministers, who after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

‘ His Majesty the king of Great Britain engages to cause to be paid, in the city of London, to the person or persons who shall be authorized for that purpose by his Majesty the King of Prussia, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to six hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling; which entire sum shall be paid at once, immediately
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after the exchange of the ratifications, upon the requisition of his Prussian Majesty.

II. His Majesty the king of Prussia engages, on his part, to employ the said sum in keeping up and augmenting his forces, which shall act in the most advantageous manner for the common cause, and for the end proposed by their aforesaid Majesties, of reciprocal defence and mutual security.

III. The high contracting parties moreover engage, viz. On the one part, his Britannic Majesty, both as king and as elector; and on the other part, his Prussian Majesty, not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any other convention or agreement whatsoever, with the powers who have taken part in the present war, but in concert, and by mutual consent, and expressly comprehending each other therein.

IV. This agreement shall be ratified; and the ratification thereof shall be exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be reckoned from the date of the signing this convention, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the ministers of his Majesty the king of Great-Britain, and of his Majesty the king of Prussia, by virtue of their full powers, signed this convention, at London, April 11, 1758.

This convention was renewed annually much in the same tenor of expression, and exactly with respect to the terms. The parliament approved of the convention when it was laid before them, and on the 20th of April granted the money stipulated by it.

Having concluded this treaty, the King of Prussia began to act offensively against the Austrian territories, but first he provided for the security of his frontiers; he posted count Dohna with an army to cover Silesia from any incursions of the Russians; and his brother prince Henry with another army in Saxony, to prevent the army of the empire, which had been recruited, from entering Brandenburg or Magdeburgh. At this time count Daun, with all the troops which he could assemble, lay intrenched at Koningsgratz in Bohemia. The king of Prussia made several feints, as if he intended to enter Bohemia; and when he had sufficiently alarmed and diverted the enemy's attention that way, he all at once, by a rapid march, entered Moravia, and proceeded to Olmutz the capital; but general Marischal, who happened to be posted in that province, having intelligence of his march, had just time enough to throw himself into the town. However, the king laid siege

to it on the 27th of May, and the trenches were opened before count Daun heard that the Prussians had given him the slip. When he received this intelligence, he instantly broke up his camp, and hastened to the relief of the city. He began to impede the Prussian operations by attacking their posts every night, and harassing them with continual alarms. The king offered him battle; but Daun knew better how to improve his advantages than hazard them all at once. At this time a large convoy was coming from Silesia to the king's camp, which Daun having intelligence of detached a considerable body of troops to take, and the king of Prussia detached another body to preserve it. The Austrians fell in with the convoy, and a bloody conflict ensued: The Prussians being greatly inferior were defeated; the center and part of the van were taken, and the rear pushed back to Silesia, while only the other part of the van escaped to the king's camp. This was a mortifying check to the king of Prussia's resolution and spirit: He saw himself by an unlucky event deprived of the very means of subsistence, and consequently obliged to relinquish his project, at the very time when the town was expected every day to surrender. However he preserved a good countenance; and on the last day of June, which was the last day of the siege, continued the firing as brisk as ever; but at night he suddenly abandoned the place, and gained a march of the Austrians before they were apprized of his retreat. He took the route of Bohemia, and arrived with all his baggage, artillery, sick and wounded, at Koningsgratz. This was one of the most surprising retreats, which has been executed in our days. It was performed in the face of a great army, in high spirits, and conducted by a very able general, who could not impede the march of the retreating army, though he attempted to hover on its wings. It is hard to say, whether m. Daun shewed more skill in obliging the king of Prussia to raise the siege without giving him battle; or the king of Prussia in raising the siege, and effecting the surprising retreat without loss. The affairs of his Prussian majesty were every day becoming more critical: The invasion of his dominions by the Russians, under the generals Fermor and Brown, would have obliged him to quit Moravia, if count Daun had not; for at this time they had entered the new Marche of Brandenburg, where they daily committed the most horrid ravages and barbarities, and had laid siege to Custrin; his presence in that country became absolutely necessary; accordingly he prosecuted his march with the utmost diligence, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Custrin on the 20th of August, after a march of 51 days from the

the midst of Moravia. Notwithstanding the great fatigue and hardships which his army must have suffered, he resolved immediately on giving the Russians battle; and his troops, animated with revenge, on viewing the dismal spectacles which the country all around presented, ardently wished for an engagement with such cruel enemies. The king joined his troops under count Dohna, and on the 25th of August gave battle to the Russians near the village of Zorndorff. These barbarians had laid siege to Custrin, a little town on the Elbe, almost without fortifications, and nothing but a brave garrison to defend it, who were reduced to the last extremity. The existence of the Prussian crown depended on the fortune of the day: The desolation of the country, and the villages on fire all round, were such marks of the enemy's cruelty, as exasperated the Prussians to a pitch of enthusiasm. In this rage they began one of the most bloody battles that had been fought during this war.

His Majesty only saw the enemy at eight in the morning, and at nine the action began. For the space of two hours the Prussian artillery poured shot on the Russians like hail from the heavens. They received, firm and undaunted, this furious cannonade, the most dreadful that can be imagined. The Muscovite foot were now attacked with all that impetuosity for which the Prussian infantry are remarkable. They had been provoked at Rochbach; at Zorndorff they were exasperated: They were in the strictest sense fighting for their country, and nothing but victory could deliver it from one of the severest scourges which could be inflicted on it. The first desperate shock of such assailants may rather be imagined than described; yet here what would have staggered the bravest veterans, of any civilized nation, had no effect on these barbarians; they never once reflected on the danger but fell in ranks, and other regiments pressed forward to increase the carnage. So fearless were they, so inconsiderate, that when the first line had fired away all their ammunition, they obstinately kept their ground, and stood like men infatuated, to be fir'd at by the Prussian platoons. It is evident that to conquer such troops was to destroy them; the slaughter of course was very great; but fresh troops continually presenting themselves and making still more vigorous resistance, the Prussians were tired out, and at length fell back in despair; disorder they had not been accustomed to; and nothing farther could be expected after such sharp service but to keep a firm countenance on the enemy. The Russian officers overlooked this opportunity, to attack in their turn, and general Seidlitz seized the
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advantage which they had neglected; he brought up the Prussian cavalry and charged the Russian foot with an impetuosity which they could not withstand; fatigued with what they had already suffered, dispirited by the appearance of horse, and unsupported by their own cavalry they fell back on a sudden, broke their ranks, plundered their own baggage, and fired on each other with the utmost confusion; while the wind carried both the dust and smoke in their faces. In this critical moment the Prussian infantry rallied, and his majesty led them to the charge in person. The slaughter now became more terrible than ever; the Russians were crammed up in a narrow space, while the Prussians with regular fires, every shot having it's full effect, continued the charge till seven o'clock at night: Yet still (which is almost incredible) the Russians kept their ground. Night came on, then, and not till then, the Russians retreated under favour of the darkness. They lost, according to their own account, 21,529 men. Of two regiments, which before the battle consisted of 4595 effective men, there were only 1475 left. They were pursued into Poland, and thereby prevented from undertaking any thing farther against the king of Prussia in Brandenburg. The loss of the Prussians was near 4000 men.

In the mean time count Daun, in conjunction with the army of the empire, now commanded by the prince of Deux Ponts, penetrated into Saxony, and took the fortrefs of Sonnestein. He aimed at wresting Saxony entirely out of the hands of the Prussians; and for this purpose nearly surrounded prince Henry of Prussia's army, which consisted only of 20,000 men, posted so as to cover Dresden. But the king of Prussia, who was informed of his brother's critical situation, hastened to his relief, before Daun, who is remarkably slow in concerting his measures, could execute his project. The king joined his brother, and Daun fell back as far as Zittau. But Frederic soon after separated from his brother, and shewed a design of cutting off Daun's communication with Bohemia, while the Austrian general discovered an intention of cutting off the king's in Silesia. In this case a battle seemed inevitable; and Daun resolved to bring it on the first advantageous opportunity, lest the time for action should be lost, and he obliged to abandon Saxony entirely, thereby giving up the fruits of the campaign. At this time the King of Prussia was encamped at Hohkirchen, a village in Lusatia. Daun, in the night of October 14, favoured by a thick fog, silently marched to the Prussian camp, and at five o'clock in the morning he attacked the Prussians in the most intrepid manner and with the greatest regularity. They were
entirely

entirely surprized; they run to their arms, some half naked: Marshal Keith mounted his horse, and putting himself at the head of a corps on the right wing, where the heat of the action lay, made a very gallant resistance, which afforded the King of Prussia an opportunity to form the left wing, before it should be disordered by any sudden efforts of the enemy. Keith maintained a bloody and desperate conflict three hours amidst all the horrors of darkness, confusion, slaughter and despair, against superior numbers, who were continually supported by fresh troops: Three times was the village lost and won: He rallied the broken regiments, and every time charged with the utmost ardor; but he could not prevent a defeat. About nine o' clock he was shot thro' the heart; he instantly fell on the field, and his body was left to the Austrian irregulars, who stripped it. At the beginning of the action a cannon ball took off the head of prince Francis of Brunswick, as he was mounting his horse. Thus fell two gallant and distinguished officers. Prince Maurice of Anhalt too was wounded and taken prisoner. When Keith was slain, the right wing was soon defeated. The King then gave up all hopes of recovering the ground. He therefore ordered a retreat, which he effected in tolerable order, by the good countenance of his cavalry and the heavy fire of his artillery. He lost, at least, 7000 men, with all his tents, a great part of his baggage, and some cannon; but the death of marshal Keith was his greatest misfortune; the rest he could repair. The loss of the Austrians, according to their own account, amounted to 5000 men. Marshal Daun, however, did not derive the advantages from this stratagem which he expected. It is true he foiled the King of Prussia, and that monarch suffered in his reputation by it; but this did not come up to his expectations. He hoped to have taken some towns in Silesia: And with this view he previously sent detachments into that country, one of which had laid siege to Neiss, and another formed a blockade round Cossel. His aim was now to cover those attempts. The King soon recovered his affairs, and drew reinforcements from his brother in Saxony. He, by several masterly movements and rapid marches, opened a passage into Silesia, and thus crushed in a moment all Daun's boasted advantages of the battle of Hohenkirchen. General Laudon was detached after him; but the king continued his march: He relieved Neiss and Cossel. When Daun found he could not hinder the king from entering Silesia, he bent his thoughts towards Saxony: He resolved to take Dresden, and approached the suburbs with an army of 60,000 men. The garrison, commanded by count Schmettau,

Schmettau, amounted to about 12,000. The city being but poorly fortified, the governor, was determined to hold the place to the last extremity, and considering that if the enemy gained possession of the suburbs they might easily command the city, he resolved to set fire to them; which was done in the morning of the 10th of November; and about 250 houses were consumed, the inhabitants of which nearly lost their all, and some their lives. This fire, which in part laid waste the capital of Saxony, rendered marshal Daun's project of a surprise impracticable, and regular approaches demanded more time than he could now spare. The king of Prussia was in full march to relieve Dresden, where he arrived on the 20th of November, which obliged marshal Daun to retire into Bohemia, and there take up his winter-quarters. The army of the empire had entered another part of Saxony, and formed some attempts on Torgau and Leipzig; but they were frustrated about the same time, and the assailants obliged to retire. In the mean time the Swedes, who had been drawn into the confederacy against the king of Prussia by the influence of the Russians, had acted but a trifling part. Their army made some ineffectual efforts to gain Pomerania; for a while they were obliged to abandon all and retire. Not the least spark now appeared of that military genius, for which the Swedes had been formerly renowned. Thus did the king of Prussia, by his consummate skill and vigilance, baffle all the efforts of his numerous enemies, and obliged them to sit down at the end of the campaign with the loss of many thousand men, and without having gained one inch of ground. It will amaze posterity, to think, that this prince, with only the assistance of a subsidy which he drew from England, thus bravely withstood so many armies, and frustrated the designs of such a powerful confederacy.

We shall close the account of this year's transactions with observing, that the Dutch having for some time carried on an illicit trade for the French, under colour of their own neutrality, several of their ships were this year taken by the English cruizers and privateers; upon which they had recourse to false bills of lading, and other arts, to prevent future discoveries; but their ships were still taken, and after proper examination, condemned in great numbers in America and some in Europe. The Dutch thus, in a great measure, deprived of the advantages they hoped to derive from this sly and illegal method of carrying on the French trade, raised loud clamours all over Holland against the rigour of the English ministry, who warmly expostulated with the Dutch deputies on the subject.

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The Hollanders finding that the court of Great Britain was not to be intimidated; that no remonstrances could regain their contraband commodities; that there was a spirit in the principal servant of the crown, which they perceived would be dangerous to provoke too far; and that the power of Great Britain, under his direction, was become so respectable, they could have no hopes of intimidating it, at length gave up the point, and sat down with their losses; and tho' they afterwards continued to carry for the French, they were obliged to use more caution.

On the 23d of November the British parliament met. As no change of measures seemed likely to happen, the fate of the campaign not having disposed any of the powers at war to pacific sentiments, it was apparent, that the only way to procure a lasting peace was to continue the war with the same vigour; upon which the commons, with the greatest cheerfulness and unanimity, voted the supplies, which amounted to 12,761,310*l*. It is an illustrious and everlasting monument to the minister's honour, that this sum, which exceeded any that had ever been granted in that house before, was given with pleasure and harmony: Such was the unparalleled confidence of the representatives, and of the whole people, in a ministry whose integrity and zeal for their country's welfare they did not doubt; and of whose spirit and abilities for humbling the enemy they had already seen such examples, that they could not but rely on their known honesty and watchfulness to extend the British power and interest. This was not the conduct of faction, but that of the whole people, who were roused by such intrepidity and vigilance to revenge their wrongs on a perfidious enemy.

(1759.)

AS the enemy's power in America had received a considerable blow by the reduction of Louisbourg, great expectations were formed for a continuance of the war in that quarter. An expedition was planned against the capital of Canada, and the command of the land forces was given to an Englishman, whose genius was modelled by nature for ardour and enterprize; whose intrepid and active spirit promised every possible advantage to the public. The late success in America had been in a great measure owing to well-timing the operations, in making early attempts on the enemy before they could possibly receive any assistance from Europe. The same steps were again pursued. In the month of February a fleet was dispatched from England, commanded by the admirals

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Saunders and Holmes. It was concerted, that while this fleet, with a number of troops on board, commanded by general Wolfe, should proceed up the river St. Laurence, general Amherst, with another considerable body, should proceed over land in America, and join general Wolfe, in order to attack Quebec, the capital of Canada; and that while these operations were performing, a third body of troops, commanded by the generals Prideaux and Johnson, should advance by Niagara to Montreal, the second principal place in Canada.

While these extensive designs were in agitation, commodore Keppel reduced Goree, a strong fortress that was a check upon our late acquisition of Senegal. Other plans were in readiness for attacking the French islands. Ten ships of the line were sent under the command of commodore Moore, and six regiments of infantry, under the direction of general Hopson, to attack Martinico, the conquest of which had been represented here as extremely impracticable. But when the ships appeared before the island, which was in the month of January, and had landed the troops upon it, the forts were found to be much stronger than had been supposed; at which time a difference arose between the two commanders concerning the conveyance of the cannon; upon which the troops were embarked. It was then judged proper to sail away for Guadaloupe, in hopes of better fortune. On the 23d of January they appeared before Basse-terre, which was cannonaded and bombarded by the fleet, till it was in many places set on fire: The flames continuing to consume the town all that and the following day, the inhabitants and troops at length quitted it, and fled into the mountainous part of the country; the English troops were then landed; but the climate being extremely unhealthy, great numbers were carried off by sickness and fevers; among whom was general Hopson. The command devolved upon general Barrington; who having taken possession of several places, embarked the troops, and sailed round the island to other parts, where he reduced all the principal towns; and on the first day of May obliged the two islands, which together are called Guadaloupe, to surrender. This valuable conquest was but just made, when the French squadron appeared for its relief; but the commander finding he was too late, sailed away without attempting any thing, tho' had he come but a day sooner he had probably saved the islands. Before the end of the month the island of Marigalante surrendered. The news of such a series of successes, so advantageous to England, and destructive of the power of the enemy,

enemy, were received with raptures of joy; and every instance of gratitude to the minister.

In Asia, the English were as successful as their warmest friends could wish. Considering the enemy's superiority, it was impossible to prevent Lally's laying siege to Madras; for which we left him last year making preparations. The French army advanced to the place, but one of their regiments was roughly handled by colonel Draper, who sallied out of the town to impede their approach: He fought bravely, but the enemy's fresh reinforcements at length obliged him to retire. The garrison of Madras was at this time commanded by colonel Lawrence, and the town by governor Pigott, who both provided every thing in their power to defend the place to the last extremity. On the 6th of January 1759, Lally opened the trenches against it. He maintained a heavy fire for some time, and advanced very near the glacis; he poured his bombs into the town in order to set fire to the houses, and intimidate the inhabitants, but the vigilance and bravery of the English officers disappointed his expectations; and the fire of the garrison was so warm as to oblige him to abandon some of his batteries. In the mean time major Caillaud, with a few Europeans and a body of the country forces, hovered on the skirts of Lally's army, and greatly embarrassed him, as well as retarded the operations of the siege: He cut off Lally's supplies, repulsed several of his detachments, and kept him in continual alarm. At length Lally was so provoked by this flying camp, which he said was like the flies, no sooner beat off from one part than they come on another, that he resolved to send out such a large force as would crush them effectually: But he was disappointed; for the English made so brave a stand, that his troops gained no material advantage. Chagrined by this event; by the obstinate defence and the superior fire of the garrison, which obliged him gradually to decrease his own; by the villainous arts of the commissaries and contractors, who had engaged to supply his army; he, in the wild transports of rage and despair, resolved to raise the siege and resign his command of the army. This was on the 14th of February, when he wrote a letter to m. de Leyrit, governor of Pondicherry, containing his resolutions: But his messenger who was carrying it fell into the hands of major Caillaud.

This letter is indeed curious, for it is truly picturesque of the chagrin and mortification of the writer; therefore we shall insert it.

From the camp before Madras, the 14th of February, 1759.

‘ A GOOD blow might be struck here: There is a ship in
‘ the road, of 20 guns, laden with all the riches of
‘ Madras, which it is said will remain there till the 20th. The
‘ Expedition is just arrived; but m. Gorlin is not a man to
‘ attack her, for she has made him run away once before. The
‘ Bristol, on the other hand, did but just make her appearance
‘ before St. Thomas; and on the vague report of thirteen
‘ ships coming from Porto Novo, she took fright, and after
‘ landing the provisions with which she was laden, she would
‘ not stay long enough even to take on board twelve of her
‘ own guns, which she had lent us for the siege.

‘ If I was the judge of the point of honour of the compa-
‘ ny’s officers, I would break him like glass, as well as some
‘ others of them.

‘ The Fidelle, or the Harlem, or even the aforesaid Bristol,
‘ with her 12 guns restored to her, would be sufficient to make
‘ themselves masters of the English ship, if they could manage
‘ so as to get to windward of her in the night. Maugendre
‘ and Tremillier are said to be good men; and were they em-
‘ ployed only to transport 200 wounded men, that we have
‘ here, this service would be of importance.

‘ We remain still in the same position: The breach made
‘ these fifteen days; all the time within fifteen toises of the
‘ place, and never holding up our heads to look at it.

‘ I reckon we shall, at our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour
‘ to learn some other trade, for this of war requires too much
‘ patience.

‘ Of 1500 Cipayes which attended our army, I reckon near
‘ 800 are employed upon the road to Pondicherry, laden with
‘ sugar, pepper, and other goods; and as for the Coulis, they
‘ are all employed for the same purpose, from the first day we
‘ came here.

‘ I am taking my measures from this day, to set fire to the
‘ Black-town, and to blow up the powder mills.

‘ You will never imagine, that fifty French deserters, and
‘ one hundred Swiss, are actually stopping the progress of 7000
‘ men of the king’s and company’s troops, which are still here
‘ existing, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts that every
‘ one makes here, according to his own fancy, of the slaugh-
‘ ter that has been made of them; and you will be still more
‘ surprized, if I tell you, that were it not for the two com-
‘ bats and four battles we sustained, and for the batteries
‘ which

‘ which failed, or, to speak more properly, which were un-
 ‘ skilfully made, we should not have lost fifty men, from the
 ‘ commencement of the siege to this day.

‘ I have wrote to m. de Larche, that if he persists in not
 ‘ coming here, let who will raise money upon the Paleagers for
 ‘ me, I will not do it; and I renounce (as I informed you a
 ‘ month ago I would) meddling, directly or indirectly, with
 ‘ any thing whatever, that may have relation to your admi-
 ‘ nistration, whether civil or military: For I had rather go
 ‘ and command the Caffres of Madagascar, than remain in
 ‘ this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English
 ‘ must destroy, sooner or later, even tho’ that from heaven
 ‘ should not.

‘ I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

‘ LALLY.

‘ P.S. I think it necessary to apprise you, that as m. de
 ‘ Soupire has refused to take upon him the command of this
 ‘ army, which I have offered to him, and which he is impow-
 ‘ ered to accept, by having received from the court a dupli-
 ‘ cate of my commission, you must of necessity, together with
 ‘ the council, take it upon you. For my part, I undertake
 ‘ only to bring it back, either to Arcotte or Sadraste. Send
 ‘ therefore your orders, or come yourselves to command it;
 ‘ for I shall quit it upon my arrival there.’

Major Caillaud sent this curious intelligence into Madras,
 and thereupon came nearer in order to harass the enemy.
 Lally had not time to burn the Black-town, as he intended, for
 a man of war and a company’s ship arriving in the road on the
 16th with succours, he precipitately retreated in the utmost
 haste and left his artillery behind him: Thus was Madras
 saved after a siege of nine weeks. A part of the garrison,
 commanded by major Brereton, sallied out after him, but were
 for some time too weak to undertake any thing of importance.
 At length, in the month of September, they resolved to attack
 him in his strong camp at Wandewash, but they met with a
 severe repulse, and were obliged to retire in confusion. Cap-
 tain Maitland, who commanded an expedition to Bombay, had
 better success. He dispersed the French troops, took the town
 of Surat by assault, and obliged the castle to surrender. In
 the mean time admiral Pococke and m. d’Ache disputed the
 superiority of the sea. On the 10th of September they came to
 an engagement off Pondicherry, which raged with great fury
 for the space of two hours, when d’Ache finding himself unable
 to

to sustain Pococke's heavy and destructive fire, fled in the best manner he could. The English fleet however were too much damaged to pursue; but soon after, being refitted, they went again in quest of the French, who descrying their approach off Pondicherry, slipped out to sea, and avoided another engagement.

The Ministry apprehensive that the enemy's additional force in the East Indies might seize some of the English settlements, dispatched a fleet from Europe, as soon as they heard of Lally's design to attack Madras: It was commanded by commodore Cornish, who about this time joined admiral Pococke, and gave such a superiority to the British power in the east, as in a little time after totally destroyed the French force on the coast of Coromandel. Commodore Cornish brought with him a reinforcement of troops, commanded by colonel Coote, who took the command of the whole army, and prepared to make head against Lally. He reduced Wandewash, and some other places of less importance, before the end of the year.

The great extension of the British trade in this quarter of the globe, excited the jealousy and envy of the Dutch, who secretly formed a scheme for extirpating the English out of Bengal. They tampered with the nabob Jaffier Ali-Cawn, and he connived at their intentions. Their first aim was to engross the whole salt-petre trade; a part of which they enjoyed by their factory at Chinsurra, where they had a strong fort on the river Bengal, higher up than Calcutta. The governor of Batavia, having charged himself with the execution of this villainous design, chose the opportunity while the British squadron were absent; and having equipped seven ships, and put on board them 12,000 troops, on pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garrisons in Bengal, they sailed for the river of Bengal, and in October three of them arrived there. Col. Clive, who resided at Calcutta, having notice of their design, sent word to the Dutch commodore, that he could not allow them to land their forces and march to Chinsurra; but no sooner were the rest of the troops arrived, than the men were landed, and began their march for Chinsurra. The Dutch commodore, by way of retaliating the affront, he pretended to have received, in being denied a passage to Chinsurra, took several English vessels on the river; and one of the Indiamen coming down at that time, he told the captain, that if he presumed to pass he would sink him; upon which the vessel returned to Calcutta, where colonel Clive ordered three Indiamen that were there to go down and fight the Dutch; and they obeyed this order with so much vivacity and courage.

courage, that they compelled three of the Dutch ships with the commodore to surrender; two ran away, and they drove the last ashore. In the mean time the Dutch troops were not more fortunate than their ships: Colonel Clive detached colonel Forde, with five hundred men, to oppose their progress; on the 25th of November he met with them and gave them battle with great resolution; in a short time they gave way, and were totally defeated: During this action, the nabob, with a considerable army looking on, observed a suspicious neutrality, and in all probability would have declared for the Dutch, had they proved victorious; but no sooner had the English gained the victory, than he declared for them. The Dutch finding their whole scheme defeated, began to think of accommodating matters; a treaty was concluded, by which the ships were restored; and the prisoners were released as soon as the Dutch factory at Chinsurra had given security to indemnify the English for the damage they had sustained. This reminds us of their practices at Amboyna; but colonel Clive had discernment and spirit to crush the attempt in its infancy.

The fleet under admiral Saunders arrived at Halifax, where having taken on board the troops, in number about eight thousand, destined for the expedition, it sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and in the month of June general Wolfe landed on the isle of Orleans (not so high up as Quebec) of which he took possession, and also of the point of the continent, which lay opposite, called Point Levi. Quebec at this time was tolerably well fortified, the garrison reinforced, and the town covered by an army of ten thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Montcalm. As the defence of Quebec was thus so well provided for, the general could scarce hope to reduce it, therefore he resolved to attack some intrenchments which the enemy had thrown up at Montmorenci. For this purpose the grenadiers were landed on the beach with orders to form upon it, and wait till they were reinforced; but such was their ardour, that as soon as they were landed they, unsupported, rushed on the enemy, who being greatly superior, they were repulsed and thrown into disorder. In this attack captain Otcherlony and lieutenant Peyton (both of general Monckton's regiment) were wounded, and fell before the enemy's breast-work.----The former mortally, being shot thro' the body; the latter was wounded only in his knee.----Two savages pushed down upon them with the utmost precipitation, armed with nothing but their diabolical knives. The first seized on captain Otcherlony, when mr. Peyton, who lay reclining

clining on his fusée, discharged it, and the savage dropt immediately on the body of his intended prey. The other savage advanced with much eagerness to Mr. Peyton, who had no more time than to disengage his bayonet, and conceal it's disposition. With one arm he warded off the purposed blow, and with the other stabb'd him to the heart: Nevertheless the savage, tho' fallen, renewed his attempts, infomuch that Mr. Peyton was obliged to repeat his blow, and stab him thro' and thro' the body. A straggling grenadier, who had happily escaped the slaughter of his companions, stumbled upon captain Otcherlony, and readily offered him his service. The captain, with the spirit and bravery of a Briton, replied, ' Friend, I thank you!--but with respect to me, the musket or scalping knife, will be only a more speedy deliverance from pain. I have but a few minutes to live. Go---make haste---and tender your service, where there is a possibility it may be useful.' At the same time he pointed to Mr. Peyton, who was then endeavouring to crawl away on the sand. The grenadier took Mr. Peyton on his back, and conveyed him to the boat thro' a severe fire, in which Mr. Peyton was wounded in the back, and his deliverer near the shoulder.

The loss in this skirmish was considerable; but to prevent it's being greater, the General ordered a retreat. This was a very discouraging circumstance. There appeared on every side such a number of difficulties to be surmounted, that the General's only hope seemed to depend on the success of this attempt. The failure made a great impression on his mind, and threw him into a dangerous illness; his spirit was too great not to be affected with any misfortune that might expose him to reproach or censure. In the transports of his chagrin and affliction he was heard to say, *He would never return unless he was victorious.* The hope, however, of still being able, thro' some resource or other, to execute his orders, revived his spirits, and he began to recover; upon which he transmitted an account of his operations to England. Then he ordered some of the ships up the river, being determined to make an effort on that side the town: Admiral Holmes, who commanded these ships, on board of which was General Wolfe with about 5000 troops, was to go further up than the place he intended to land at, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way; and so far it answered, that Montcalm sent 1500 men to watch this fleet; while Admiral Saunders made a feint, as if he intended to attack the enemy's entrenchments below the town. On the 13th of September, at one o'clock in the morning, the troops were put into the stream

stream to the place of landing; where with admirable courage, but great difficulty, they landed, and ascended, after the example of the General, the woody precipices; and at length gained the summit, which is called the Heights of Abraham. Here they were formed, and drawn up in regular order before day light. This situation commanded the town. Montcalm now saw that he must hazard a battle: He instantly put his troops in motion, and advanced up to the English. General Wolfe placed himself in the front line of the center, in order to animate the troops by his example. The right and left wings were commanded by the Generals Monckton, Murray, and Townshend. He ordered his men to reserve their fire till the enemy were very close, which being done, it was discharged, and made terrible havock among them: The bayonet was immediately made use of, which greatly increased the slaughter. The English had only fired twice, when the enemy began to fall into disorder and give ground. At this critical minute general Wolfe was killed by a shot in the breast. The French general was slain likewise, upon which the enemy fell into utter confusion, and abandoned the field of battle.

The circumstances attending general Wolfe's death are too affecting to be passed over. He first received a wound in the wrist; but that he might not discourage his troops, he wrapped it up in his handkerchief, and encouraged his men to advance: Soon after he received another ball in his belly; this also he dissembled, and exerted himself as before, till he received a third in his breast, under which he at last sunk.----- Crowned with conquest, he smiled in death.-----His principal care was, that he should not be seen to fall. *Support me*, said he to such as were near him, *let not my brave soldiers see me drop:---the day is ours:---oh! keep it.* He was immediately carried behind the ranks. As he lay struggling with the anguish and weakness of three grievous wounds, he was only solicitous about the certainty of the victory. He begged one who attended him to support him to view the field; but as he found that the approach of death had dimmed and confused his sight, he desired an officer who was by him to give him an account of what he saw. The officer answered, That the enemy were broken: He repeated his question a few minutes after with much anxiety, when he was told, that the enemy were totally routed, and that they fled in all parts. *Then I am satisfied*, said he, and immediately expired. His death was universally lamented by his country, and envied by all who had a true relish for military glory. Unindebted to family or connections, unsupported by intrigue or faction, he had accomplished

complished the whole business of life, at a time when others are only beginning to appear in it; and at thirty-five, without feeling the weakness of age or the vicissitude of fortune, having satisfied his honest ambition, having compleated his character, having fulfilled the expectations of his country, he fell at the head of his conquering troops, and expired in the arms of victory, covered with laurels, green in age, but ripe in glory.

The English lost in this battle about 500 men, and the French about 1500; but the death of General Wolfe was to the English the greatest misfortune: It was an event particularly grievous to his country, tho' to himself the happiest that can be imagined. Officers may be formed by experience; but a genius in war, a soul like his, can never be repaired. Five days after the battle the city of Quebec surrendered to general Townshend, on whom the command had devolved. It is particularly worthy observation, that the conquest of Canada was owing to the singular ardour and intrepidity of general Wolfe: It was he who formed that desperate resolution of landing, and climbing the Heights of Abraham. This brought on the battle; and thus was Quebec conquered. Had a commander of an ordinary capacity been employed in this enterprise he would have been staggered by the difficulties, discouraged by the repulse at Montmorenci, and judged the landing impracticable. Thus would the great scheme have been defeated, a whole season lost, and the national treasure thrown away in equipping a fruitless expedition. What praises, what honours, what rewards therefore are due to him, who prevented all this, and added to the British crown one of the brightest gems that ever adorned it?

In the mean time general Amherst advanced to Crown Point, which as well as Ticonderoga the enemy abandoned on his approach: Then he prepared to cross the lake Champlain, and dislodge a numerous body of French troops, which lay intrenched at the bottom of the lake, in order to open the communication with general Wolfe; but by the time he had made his preparations the stormy season was set in; and when he embarked, hoping to effect his designs, the weather was so cold and tempestuous, he was obliged to turn back, and postpone the remainder of his operations till the next campaign. Thus the great end of assisting general Wolfe was not accomplished; and that General was, as we have seen, left to the exertion of his single strength. The third part of the plan was more successful. General Prideaux advanced to fort Niagara, which by it's excellent situation commands the extensive territory

territory inhabited by the Iroquois: He laid siege to it; but while the operations were carrying on, he was killed before the place by the bursting of a colorn; the command now devolved upon general Johnson. The French, well knowing the importance of the fort, notwithstanding their distressed and distracted condition, collected a body of troops and Indians, and advanced to it's relief; but general Johnson, who is extremely well acquainted with all the Indian methods of making war, and taking advanges of the ground, bushes, &c. gave them a warm reception, and in less than an hour totally defeated them: Then he summoned the fort, and obliged the garrison, amounting to 600 men, to surrender prisoners of war that evening. Such was the second campaign in America, by which the English gained possession of Quebec, the capital of Canada, drove the French from their strong holds at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and took fort Niagara, which opened the road to Montreal, the second principal place in Canada, and the only one which the French now held in that extensive province.

The inclinations of the powers at war were not the least altered at the beginning of this year from what they were at the close of the last. However, the plan of operations in Germany was something different; last year the king of Prussia and prince Ferdinand acted independently; this year they resolved to act in concert: It was designed first to destroy the Russian magazines in Poland, while prince Ferdinand should drive the French towards the Rhine, and getting between them and the army of the empire, cut off their communication: Prince Henry was to rush out of Saxony and cut off the communication between the Imperialists and Austrians; while count Daun and the king of Prussia were left singly to oppose each other. The first part of this plan was executed with success: So early as the month of February, the Prussian general Wobersnow, destroyed as many magazines in Poland, as would have subsisted fifty thousand men for three months. In the month of April, prince Henry executed his part with equal celerity and good fortune; the king of Prussia making a motion, which drew the Austrians towards Silesia, the prince entered Bohemia, and turned the army of the empire into Voigtland, where he skirmished with them to advantage, and raised contributions in the country; he disabled the circle of Franconia from giving them any assistance; but as he found prince Ferdinand had not succeeded, and the French army could succour them, he returned to his old situation in Saxony, Prince Ferdinand purposing to drive the French troops from

Francfort, which they had illegally seized, and from which they derived no small advantage; as it secured to them the course of the rivers Maese and Rhine, by which they could receive supplies and refreshments, he, in the month of March, put himself at the head of a corps of the allies, and advanced to execute this design; but the duke de Broglie, with a considerable detachment of the French troops, posted himself in a very strong and judicious manner at Bergen, between Francfort and Hanau; which post, prince Ferdinand found it necessary to force, before he could penetrate to Francfort. Lord George Sackville, who commanded the British forces, protested against such an attack as rash and imprudent: However, prince Ferdinand ordered the prince of Isenbourg to attack the enemy's intrenchments, which he did with great intrepidity, and was repulsed; twice more he returned to the charge, and in the latter fell, with near two thousand of his countrymen. Prince Ferdinand, finding it impossible to force this post, withdrew, while the French with prodigious superiority obliged him to retreat, and act on the defensive until the month of August; when having followed him to the town of Minden on the Weser. M. Contades, who was still the French commander, resolved to give him battle; the vicinity of the two armies, for several days, had made prince Ferdinand apprehensive of such a step; but he did not expect it on the day it happened: He was conscious, that they intended to deprive him of the course of the Weser; and that was one of the principal advantages they expected to derive from an action: Therefore general Wagenheim, with a considerable corps, was intrenched at Dodenhäusen, on the Banks of the Weser, while the rest of the army was encamped at a small distance near the village of Hille.

On the last day of July Contades gave his orders for fighting; he directed the duke de Broglie to march in the dead of the following night and early in the morning to force Wagenheim, who it was apprehended was not strong, and place himself between the allied army and the Weser, while Contades should, on a sudden, surprize the prince in front. Broglie, to his great astonishment, found Wagenheim's troops drawn up in excellent order, intrenched and defended by a numerous artillery; this discovery put a stop to his operations. About the same time Contades fired upon Hille, which alarmed the Allies, who forthwith put themselves in order, expecting the French were come to give them battle; but finding them not so near as they had apprehended, they advanced to the plain of Minden, and there saw the enemy. Broglie attacked Wagenheim

Wagenheim with great vivacity; but the artillery was so admirably served against him, that his troops recoiled, and he found it necessary to retire. Contades directed his cavalry to charge the allied infantry, whom he perceived to be advancing: Here the brunt of the action fell: Six regiments of English infantry and two battalions of Hanoverian guards sustained the efforts of the whole French centre, consisting of horse, the flower of their cavalry and the strength of their army, with such resolution and intrepidity, as perhaps never was equalled. During this conflict, orders were sent to the British and Hanoverian horse on the right, commanded by lord George Sackville, divided from the infantry by a wood, to come up and sustain the infantry; but that commander pretending these orders not to be sufficiently explicit and consistent, hesitated in the execution, by which the precious moment was lost; the British infantry having defeated the French cavalry, and there was no horse at hand effectually to finish the work. Some pretend, that had these orders been immediately obeyed, his lordship could not have come up time enough to have had any share in the action. There was a strange confusion this day; the artillery had no orders till very late, and the engineers were galloping about the field in quest of orders, when aid du camps ought to have spared them the necessity of quitting their stations: At length, lord George Sackville directed them to proceed to the front, where they were of the utmost service towards obtaining the victory. Contades, finding that his cavalry could not resist the British infantry, and that these troops broke every corps before them, ordered a retreat, which the duke de Broglie covered in a very excellent manner. The loss of the French amounted to near seven thousand men, slain and prisoners; that of the allies exceeded two thousand five hundred. The vanquished retreated across the Weser, and for want of subsistence fled precipitately towards Cassel: The allies took several towns in the pursuit, and laid siege to Munster; but the French by relieving it, set a bound to the progress of their arms, who left the enemy at the conclusion of the campaign, just where they had found them at the beginning.

Notwithstanding the destruction of the Russian magazines, early in the year, that power nevertheless put it's army in motion about the same time as usual; and these troops, to the number of 70,000 men, commanded by count Soltikoff, prosecuted their march to Silesia. Count Dohna, who commanded the Prussian army in those parts, finding them too numerous for him to attack with any prospect of success, contented himself

self with watching their motions and harraſſing them in their march: Tho' this conduct was extremely prudent and juſtifiable, yet the king of Pruſſia's affairs requiring vigorous meaſures he diſapproved of it; upon which count Dohna reſign'd, and general Wedel was ordered to take the command of the army, and at all events to fight the Ruſſians. Accordingly on the 23d of July, he with 30,000 men attacked their advantageous poſt at Zullichau, near Croſſen; and after maintaining the conflict with great reſolution, tho' under many difficulties, for ſeveral hours, he retired with the loſs of at leaſt 8000 men; in conſequence of which the Ruſſians gained poſſeſſion of Croſſen and Francfort upon the Oder. The king of Pruſſia exaſperated by this defeat reſolved to give them battle himſelf, and immediately ſeparated from his army a conſiderable corps, with which he began his march to join the troops of Wedel, leaving prince Henry with the remainder to obſerve count Daun; but this able General knowing the king of Pruſſia's deſign detached a body of 12000 horſe under general Laudon to the aſſiſtance of the Ruſſians, and by extreme good fortune this junction was effected: However, the king of Pruſſia having aſſembled an army of 50,000 men, determined to give them battle: And accordingly on the 12th of Auguſt, early in the morning, he found the enemy in an intrenched camp at Cunnerſdorff, defended by an incredible number of cannon; he attacked the left wing with great bravery, and after a bloody diſpute of ſix hours he maſtered a deſile and ſeveral redoubts, took a great number of cannon, and obliged the enemy to begin a retreat. At this juncture he diſpatched a billet to his queen, couched in the following terms: *Madam, we have beat the Ruſſians from their entrenchments; in two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory.* But he was deceiv'd; the Ruſſians were not yet defeated: They had retired to a place called the Jews Burying Ground; but this was an eminence, and the moſt advantageous poſt, which in theſe circumſtances they could have choſen: However he reſolved to drive them ſtill further, tho' this enterprize was of a moſt difficult nature; his Generals perceiving this raſhneſs, unani- mouſly repreſented to him the imprudence of attempting to puſh the advantages they had gained any further; the enemy, ſaid they, were ſtill numerous, had a vaſt artillery, the poſt which they occupied was of great ſtrength, his troops had been engaged a long time in the ſevereſt action they ever knew, and one of the hotteſt days they ever felt, were too much fatigued for ſuch a new aſſault, that might even ſtagger freſh troops; they urged that the advantage which he had gained would

would be as decisive in its consequences as that at Zorndorff; that the enemy would soon be obliged to retire into Poland, and he would be at liberty to act in other quarters where his presence was more necessary. All these excellent arguments weighed as nothing; he obstinately adhered to his resolution. Thus rejecting every thing that was prudent, and actuated by frenzy, he began a new attack which was beyond his strength. Now putting all to the hazard, his weakened army with some little remains of unexhausted ardor, fought against the enemy's impregnable situation. These feeble battalions being uncovered with cannon, because they could bring none up, and the enemy having recovered from their consternation, repulsed them with great slaughter; yet still did the king of Prussia, with a strange and inhuman perseverance, order them to return to the charge; when being again routed with great loss, he in a wild ungovernable passion of despair and revenge, put the affair to the cavalry, notwithstanding the horses as well as the riders had been previously spent; they made several unsuccessful efforts, and being entirely broke, the Austrian cavalry which had hitherto been inactive, fell amongst them, threw them into utter confusion and completed their destruction; the remains of the army, which but lately had been victorious were now seized with a panic, and dispersed in the best manner they were able, without any thoughts of preserving their baggage, cannon, or one single utensil; life alone was the prevailing consideration, and night preserved them from total ruin. The King had two horses killed under him, and several balls went thro' his cloaths. There was scarce a general, or even an inferior officer in his army that was not either killed or wounded. His loss was greater in this action than in any he had ever seen before; at least 19,000 of his troops were slain, a great number were made prisoners, all his baggage, cannon, and every thing he brought into the field fell into the hands of his enemy. When he abandoned this horrible scene he dispatched another billet to the queen, thus expressed: *Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potsdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy.* It is not difficult to conceive the terror and confusion this intimation produced at Berlin, in the midst of their rejoicings occasioned by the first messenger. The loss of the conquerors amounted to about 11 or 12,000 men.

Next day the king of Prussia retreated over the Oder, and began to collect his fugitives; in a little time he recovered from his disorder, without any obstruction from the enemy, and drew a fresh train of artillery out of the stores at Berlin.

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He saw with joy and astonishment the enemy's forbearance to improve their victory; they, instead of overwhelming him with ruin, or advancing towards his capital, contented themselves with joining count Daun in Lusatia and holding consultations with that General; in which it is more than probable the Austrians were not willing the Russians should take possession of Brandenburg, therefore his safety flowed from this jealousy of the two powers. In the mean time the army of the empire had penetrated into Saxony, and reduced the towns of Hall, Leipzig, Torgau and Dresden. The king of Prussia apprehending the Russians had a design on Great Glogau, took post in such a manner as to cover that town; while count Daun suspecting that prince Henry of Prussia intended to retake Dresden, made a forced march in order to save that capital. The Austrians and Russians being thus separated, and the latter baffled in their scheme on Great Glogau, and beginning to think of retiring, the king of Prussia formed a plan for cutting off count Daun's retreat into Bohemia: He detached general Finck with 20,000 men to take possession of the defiles of Maxen behind the Austrians; which was no sooner done, than Daun reconnoitred his situation, and resolved to attack him; for this purpose he first secretly surrounded the Prussians, and on the 24th of November Finck perceived the enemy's approach on every side. In this emergency he began to think of a retreat; for a whole day he made the most intrepid efforts to disengage himself, but it was impossible, the enemy's numbers had secured every avenue. Next morning he saw the enemy on every side presenting a wall of bayonets, through which it was madness to think of penetrating, considering his great loss on the preceding day; therefore he surrendered with the whole army prisoners of war. This was a terrible blow to the Prussian power in this present critical state; yet while the king of Prussia was staggering under it, he felt another: A body of his troops, posted on the Elbe opposite to Miessen, was on the 4th of December attacked by the Austrians, and between 3 and 4000 of them were killed and made prisoners. While the King of Prussia was suffering under these misfortunes, he received a supply from prince Ferdinand, who detached the Hereditary Prince to his assistance, the king hoping by this means to gain some advantage over m. Daun; but this General acted with so much caution, that he found it impossible, the Hereditary Prince returned to the Allies, who by this time had recommenced the siege of Munster, and reduced it. After these transactions all the armies went into winter quarters.

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The British naval transactions were as brilliant and successful this year, as the most sanguine wish could desire. Though the French were in possession of the island of Minorca, yet the English squadron in the Mediterranean plainly evinced it was of little service to them; for notwithstanding the many pretended benefits arising from this possession, they could not protect their marine. Admiral Boscawen who had succeeded admiral Osborn, appeared before Toulon, and though he received some damage from two forts which he attempted to destroy, yet this shewed the spirit and bravery of an English admiral. Having retired to Gibraltar to refit, m. de la Clue, who commanded the French squadron in Toulon, seized the opportunity of sailing; he hoped to pass the Straights mouth unobserved, and then to join the grand fleet at Brest, which the French had equipped with a view of invading England; but the vigilant admiral Boscawen had stationed cruizers at several places to keep a good look-out, and give him timely notice of de la Clue's approach. Accordingly on the 17th of August signal was made of the enemy's being on the Barbary shore; upon which the English squadron sailed in quest of them, and fell in with 7 ships off Cape Lagos, the rest having separated in the night. Boscawen run along-side the French admiral, and began a furious engagement; but being necessitated to change his flag, his antagonist in the interim escaped to the Portuguese shore: However two ships, one of 64 and the other of 74 guns, were taken, which had also made to the coast; another was bulged and burned, and de la Clue having quitted his ship, she was taken by the victors, who finding it impossible to get her off, destroyed her. This in some measure violated the neutrality of Portugal; but there was no intention to insult them.

The French spent this summer in scheming and preparing for an invasion of the British dominions: All their ports on the ocean were full of men of war, transports, and flat-bottomed boats. They talked of a triple embarkation, one from Dunkirk against Scotland, under the direction of m. Thurot, a bold adventurer, who from a captain of a privateer, in which he had greatly annoyed the English trade, became a commodore in the French king's service. The second from Havre de Grace against England, which being the shortest voyage, was to be attempted by flat-bottomed boats. The third, supposed to be against Ireland, was to be made from Vannes, where the troops lay encamped under the command of the duke d'Aguillon, and were to be conducted by the squadron, commanded by m. Conflans at Brest. Had this design been

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such as it was represented, and had it been put in execution, there is no doubt that it would have caused great confusion. But the excellent measures taken by the British government frustrated the projects of the enemy whatever they were. Thurot was blocked up in Dunkirk by a squadron commanded by commodore Boys. The brave and vigilant admiral Hawke, with a large fleet, confined Conflans in Brest; he likewise kept a watch upon the design at Vannes. Admiral Rodney was dispatched from England with a proper squadron, in order to bombard Havre de Grace, and destroy the preparations there, which service he performed with tolerable success. However, they continued their preparations with great celerity, and they seemed resolved at all events to hazard the transportation of a body of troops from Vannes. Even when winter approached, the same resolution was pursued, perhaps from an expectation that the tempestuous weather would compel the British navy to take refuge in their own harbours, and their fleets might then come out unopposed. Their hopes were not ill-grounded: Sir Edward Hawke was by a violent storm obliged to quit his station off Brest, and returned with his whole fleet to Torbay. The enemy availed themselves of his absence; and on the 14th of November put to sea. The whole nation was alarmed, for now the event of the war depended on the good or ill success of this stroke. Admiral Hawke lost not a moment's time; he put to sea on the same day that Conflans did, and judging that the rendezvous of the enemy's fleet would be at Quiberon, he directed his course for that bay: After beating against an high wind some time, he at length saw the desired object in his reach, but his situation was extremely dangerous; the rocks, sands, and shoals, round about were innumerable; the British pilots knew nothing of the place, the wind blew a violent storm, and the waves ran mountains high. Some commanders would have been intimidated in these circumstances, but Hawke considered the public safety, and was the more animated. He ordered his nearest ships to the enemy to engage, which they did with great intrepidity. Conflans acted with ridiculous irresolution: He at first had two choices, either to fly, or stand and fight; for a while he followed the latter, but when it was too late, he fled. Hawke, who was in the Royal George, ordered the fire of that great ship to be reserved for the French admiral, and directed his captain to carry her along-side him; but a French ship of seventy guns generously put herself between them: Here Hawke was obliged to bestow his fire, and at one broad-side sunk her to the bottom, with every soul on board: Another French

French ship shared the same fate, and a third struck. The enemy now fled on all sides, and night saved them from utter destruction. However, two of the English ships, in the eagerness of the pursuit, ran upon a sand, and were lost. Seven of the French ships threw over their guns, and escaped up the little river Villiane, and as many more got out to sea. The night that succeeded this action was perhaps the most terrible that can be conceived; the wind blew a violent storm all night long, it was both very dark, and a dangerous coast surrounded them. A continual firing of distress guns was heard, but nobody knew whether they came from friend or enemy: The badness of the coast and the darkness of the night made the hearers equally unwilling and unable to give any assistance. In the morning they perceived the French admiral had run ashore, as well as another ship; the first the enemy set on fire, and the other was burned by the victors. Thus the long-threatened invasion, which was to repair the French losses in every part of the world, was defeated, and a finishing blow given to the naval power of France; for during the remainder of the war they never undertook any thing of consequence. The squadron of m. de Thurot for a little while had better fortune. He escaped out of Dunkirk, and proceeded northward. Commodore Boys, who had blocked him up in Dunkirk, pursued him as far as Scotland, but to no purpose; he took refuge in Bergen, where he remained on account of the boisterous weather till January 1760, when he set sail in great want of provision for the coast of Scotland: He landed on the island of Ila, where he was informed of the defeat of m. Conflans; having refreshed his men, and obtained a comfortable, tho' a small supply of provisions, he set sail for Ireland. On the 21st of February he effected a descent on that kingdom at Carrickfergus, and compelled a few troops in garrison there to surrender; but as a body of men were assembling, he found it unsafe to remain on shore, and therefore re-imbarked. While this adventurer continued in these northern seas, the coasts of the two kingdoms were greatly alarmed; but these apprehensions dissipated in a few days. Captain Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, being informed by a dispatch from the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, of Thurot's situation, immediately set sail in quest of him, and on the 28th of February, their squadrons, consisting of only three frigates each, came to an engagement off the Isle of Man. During the conflict Thurot was killed, soon after which his ship surrendered, and the other two followed her example. These repeated disasters to the French fleet, as well as their

losses in every part of the world, reduced them to the necessity of stopping payment of the following public debts, viz. 1. The three kinds of rents created on the posts. 2. Those constituted upon the chest of redemptions. 3. The coupons of bills on the same chest. 4. Those of the two royal lotteries. 5. The reimbursement of bills drawn to bear on the same chest. 6. The bills of the two royal lotteries. 7. The rents created on the two sols per pound of the tenth penny. 8. The reimbursement of the capitals of rents. 9. The payments of bills dischargeable in nine years, known under the name of annuities. 10. Those of the new actions on the benefit of the farms. 11. All the bills drawn by the colonies upon the government, amounting to 1,233,000l.

On the other hand, the credit of Great Britain was risen to an astonishing height; the parliament met in the month of November, and having fixed the number of sailors to be employed in the ensuing year at 73,000, and that of the soldiers at 57,000; they granted for the maintenance of these forces, and other uses, the sum of 15,503,563 l.

(1760.)

DURING the winter the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia made offers towards a general pacification; but they had no effect; perhaps because the French hoped to retake some of the places they had lost, and thereby be enabled to insist on better terms than at this time they could expect. The Empress-queen determined to exert her utmost, in order to recover Silesia. General Laudohn, with 50,000 men, opened the campaign with the siege of Glatz; but finding his operations exposed to much annoyance from 23,000 Prussians, who were at Landshut, under the command of general Fouquet, he raised the siege, and attacked the Prussians on the 23d of June in their entrenchments. After a very warm dispute of five hours, in which both sides lost a great number of men, he at length forced their lines, and, except about 4000 of the Prussians who escaped, the vanquished, together with their commander, were all made prisoners. The conqueror then reduced Glatz. He next marched to Breslau, the siege of which he undertook; but prince Henry of Prussia advancing to its relief, obliged him to relinquish his design. The King of Prussia, who was all this while in Saxony watching count Daun, finding that the enemy's great push was in Silesia, and that

‘ their zeal. The officers, innocent of these evils, and the
‘ soldiers, will be made victims, and the illustrious offenders
‘ will suffer nothing.’

The King really knew not which way to turn, till at length hearing the Russians were in possession of Berlin, he instantly marched to its assistance. But the Russians retired on his approach, and marched into Silesia, where they for some time threatened to lay siege to Breslau; but at length they retired into their own country, after having unsuccessfully attempted the reduction of Colberg. Count Daun had followed the King of Prussia out of Silesia. The King having reinforced his army with the troops which defended Saxony and Brandenburg, began to meditate some important blow. Daun was at this time encamped near Torgau. The King resolved to put the event of the campaign to the hazard. He attacked Daun on the 3d of November, and after four vigorous assaults forced his camp, and obliged his troops to retreat in utter confusion. The Prussians lost about three thousand men, and the Austrians above twice that number. This defeat obliged count Daun to call general Laudohn out of Silesia, as he stood in need of reinforcement to prevent being drove into Bohemia. Silesia upon this reverted into the hands of the Prussians. Both armies then took up their winter quarters in Saxony, and matters were put nearly on the same footing as at the opening of the campaign. Thus the noble struggles made by the King of Prussia foiled all the attempts of his adversaries.

The French grand army was this year commanded by the duke de Broglie, who had succeeded to that post on the disgrace of m. de Contades. Besides this army the French assembled another of thirty thousand men, the command of which was given to the count de St. Germain. Broglie intending to penetrate thro’ Hesse into Hanover, made some motions as if he would join St. Germain for that purpose: Upon which prince Ferdinand resolved to prevent their junction, and ordered the hereditary prince, with the advanced guard of the army, to attack the enemy, which he did at Corbach, and met with a severe repulse; however he soon after retrieved his reputation, by attacking a party of the enemy at Exdorf, which had advanced on the left of the allies; Elliot’s English light horse bravely distinguished themselves in this encounter. This corps of the enemy were routed; but Broglie did not seem to mind these actions: He effected his junction with St. Germain. However that officer conceived a disgust to him, and resigned his command, which was given to the chevalier de Muys. Broglie directed him to cut off the communication of the allies
with

with Westphalia, while he entered Hesse. De Muys took his posts near Warburg, where prince Ferdinand attacked him in both flank and rear, and obliged him to fly with the utmost precipitation, with the loss of fifteen hundred men and some cannon. The marquis of Granby, who had succeeded to the command of the British troops on the dismission of lord George Sackville, greatly distinguished himself in this attack. While prince Ferdinand's attention was employed here, the duke de Broglie, without any difficulty, entered Hesse and took Cassel. To make amends for this, the hereditary prince undertook an expedition to the Lower Rhine, where he scoured the country, and took Cleves: He next invested Wesel, and would have taken the place had not his operation been retarded by heavy rains. When Broglie heard of this adventure, he detached m. de Castries with a large body of troops to drive the hereditary prince out of the country. These officers came to an action near Campen, when the French, by the advantage of the ground and superiority in numbers, defeated the allies, who lost sixteen hundred men, chiefly British, among whom was lord Downe. The hereditary prince then repassed the Rhine, and joined the grand army; soon after which both armies went into winter quarters. All the advantage which the French army could be said to have gained by their two armies in this campaign, was only the possession of Hesse; a sufficient proof, that if they intended to involve us in the expence of a ruinous German war, they at least were at an equal expence and suffered more disgrace by the conduct of their generals.

The French force in Canada, notwithstanding the conquest of Quebec, was still formidable. The fortifications of that city being in a ruinous condition, general Murray, who was left governor of it, with six thousand men, began to repair them: But before this could be done, the marquis de Vaudreuil, the French governor of Canada, collected his forces together, and in the month of April gave battle to general Murray on the heights contiguous to the town; from which by their superiority, they compelled him to retire, and throw himself into the town, which they immediately besieged. However, as soon as the river was open, a squadron of ships, under the command of lord Colville, who sailed up the river, obliged the enemy to raise the siege and retire to Montreal, the only place which the French held in Canada. Against this place general Amherst directed his motions; he assembled his troops as early as possible at Oswego, and embarked them on board a number of battoes, and sailed down the river St. Lawrence till he came to the island of Montreal, where he landed in the
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month of September ; and next day the marquis de Vaudreuil proposed terms of capitulation for the surrender of all Canada, which were agreed to. This valuable acquisition was made with little loss on our side, and great honour to the commanders, especially of the troops from Quebec, as they appeared at Montreal before Amherst arrived, but waited to act jointly with him, without any jealousy of his bearing away the whole honour of it's reduction.

In Asia we left general Lally, when the tide of war was turning against him ; he assembled all the French troops at Arcot, about the latter end of 1759, and resolved to retake Wandewash, as it was a place of the utmost consequence to both the French and English. Colonel Coote determined to preserve it, and began a forced march for it's defence. The siege, however, was formed and a breach made before colonel Coote approached. On the 21st of January, 1760, the British forces arrived within a small distance of the French, and it was agreed to give them battle instantly. The armies drew up, and the firing began about one o'clock. In less than an hour the left wing of the French army was totally routed, chiefly by the bravery of major Brexton ; upon which their right wing precipitately quitted the field, abandoning their camp, in which the victors found twenty-two pieces of cannon. The French lost in this action upwards of 800 men. Among the prisoners was brigadier-general Buffly, who had but lately come from the kingdom of Bengal to reinforce Lally's army. The vanquished fled first to Chittiput, and having collected their fugitives, retreated in the best manner they were able to Pondicherry. In a few days colonel Coote laid siege to Chittiput, and obliged the garrison to surrender prisoners of war. Major Monson was detached to reduce Timmery, which he effected, and obliged that garrison also to surrender. In the mean time colonel Coote marched to Arcot, which place he besieged, and by the 10th of February compelled it to surrender at discretion.

These signal successes reduced the French to so low an ebb, that the chief inhabitants of their settlements and their military officers were on the verge of despair. Nothing could be a greater proof of their distress than their circulation of paper-money to their dependents and commercial friends, until it was refused : And in like agonies of extremity the inhabitants of their few remaining settlements were at different times obliged to deliver in their plate, even to their swords and shoe-buckles, that they might be coined into rupees, in order to maintain the troops, who were grown intolerably mutinous.

When

When colonel Coote had finished the conquest of Arcot, he was ordered to proceed to Bengal, where troubles were supposed to be again breaking out. Jaffier Aly Cawn was far from enjoying the esteem of the natives; and being conscious of this defect, he kept a numerous army about his person, which still made him more disagreeable; as the natives of this country are extremely jealous of each others proceedings; besides there were still a great number of adherents to the late Salajud Dowla. The English indeed had not looked upon him in the same favourable light since the affair of the Dutch as before; they had found he was fickle and deceitful. When colonel Coote began his march for Bengal, he left the direction of affairs on the coast of Coromandel to major Monson. This officer took the forts of Allumparvey, Permacoil, and other places of lesser account. Afterwards he laid siege to Karical, while rear-admiral Cornish blocked it up by sea. This fortress, which is ninety miles south from Pondicherry, was at this time the only settlement which the French had on the coast of Coromandel, except Pondicherry, and on that account it was of the next importance. The squadron bombarded it furiously, while major Monson, finding it a regular fortification, (built upon the plan of Lille in Flanders) attacked it vigorously, and in a short time obliged the garrison to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The French admiral m. d'Ache, who had failed to the islands of Mauritius, not only to repair the damages he had received from admiral Pococke in the engagements last year, but also to take in ship-stores and other necessaries, resigned his command to Count d'Estain, and returned to Europe. His successor, instead of going near the coast of Coromandel, set sail with part of the squadron to the island of Sumatra, in order to destroy the English settlements upon it, and he was so successful in this enterprize, that he ravaged, plundered, and destroyed almost the whole coast, with very little opposition. The little garrisons of the forts Bender-Abassia, Mascata, Nat-tal and Tappanopoly were made prisoners: At the last mentioned place he met with some resistance, and two or three small vessels were taken under these forts. Count d'Estain proceeded next to fort Marlborough, three miles east from Bencoolen. Unfortunately, a little before he approached, the Denham Indiaman had arrived there. Governor Carter persuaded Captain Tyron to stay before the place, as the enemy were every day expected, and his force would greatly add to their strength, and as he hoped, protect the fort. On the 2d of April, 1760, Count d'Estain with two ships appeared,

and as one of them, full of men, bore down upon the Denham, it was judged proper to set her immediately on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy; which was accordingly done, and the crew had just time enough to escape; they were kindly received into the fort, where, with this addition, the number of Europeans did not exceed 300 men. On the 3d the enemy came to an anchor as near as possible to the fortifications, and as they at first appeared under English colours, they continued them flying till four o'clock in the afternoon, when they begun to cannonade the fort for about two hours, and then ceased. The fire was returned, but not to do them any damage, as governor Carter had only eight guns which could reach them. In the night the fort was abandoned, and next morning the enemy landed without opposition. Had they been attacked during their landing, or in their boats, before they gained the shore, there is the greatest probability to believe they would have been defeated; but the garrison had fled into the country in despair; mean while the enemy took possession of fort Marlborough and the town of Bencoolen; and on Good-Friday the fugitives surrendered to the enemy, in order to avoid being cut to pieces by the natives, which they had reason to expect if they continued in that defenceless condition. The French commander promised that their effects and private property should be secured for them, but he did not keep his word, for he allowed his soldiers and sailors who came thither in rags, to plunder and ransack all the houses, and put on the cloaths of the inhabitants, as well as to steal and put on board the ships all the moveable effects they could find. In June the English were sent away to Batavia, and from thence to Bengal; but before they arrived at this latter place many died of the flux, occasioned by the bad food which they had from the French.

Immediately after the surrender of Karical, major Monson began his march for Pondicherry, and came within sight of this last resource of the French in those parts, about the beginning of September. As Pondicherry was fortified by a boundary, or chain of redoubts and intrenchments, it was determined to attack these first, before a regular siege was carried on against the town itself. At day-break on the 10th the major, with a party of Highlanders, landed from the Sandwich Indiamen, and a party of Draper's and Coote's regiments attacked the fort of Aracupong, about seven miles from Pondicherry: It was almost inaccessible, being defended by a thick wood, lined with cannon and a large battery. The Highlanders attacked the enemy in the wood sword in hand, and drove

drove them out; the others reserved their fire till they came within sight of the French, when giving them a full discharge, they fled precipitately. The Highlanders then cut through a hedge, and rushing upon the enemy's cannon, seized them immediately; but unfortunately major Monson, who had put himself at the head of this little corps, in order to give greater spirit to the action, received a cannon-shot in his thigh, which broke it. The enemy perceiving the English in possession of their cannon abandoned their fort and fled to Pondicherry. Of twenty-two pieces of cannon which were taken, sixteen or seventeen were loaded almost to the mouths with square bars of iron, at least six inches long, and lesser pieces of jagged iron; the mischievous intention of which we leave to the reader's imagination. Major Monson's misfortune prevented this advantage being made the best use of at that time; but colonel Coote was no sooner informed of this disaster, than he prepared to assume the command, and immediately began his march from Madras for Pondicherry. In a short time after his arrival the enemy were driven from all their out-works, and they had not one single post or redoubt but what were within the walls. He next formed the blockade, which was done in so effectual a manner, that there was not the least communication between the inhabitants of the town and the natives of the country. His army consisted of no more than three thousand five hundred Europeans, and about seven thousand seapoys. In the mean time the admirals Stevens and Cornish, with the fleet, formed the blockade by sea.

Thus was Pondicherry shut up on every side, so that it could not receive reinforcements or supplies from any part. Though no operations of a regular siege were yet carried on, nor the town in the least pressed from any quarter, yet a great number of deserters came from it, principally owing to the general dislike, and even hatred, which was shewn to m. Lally, the governor. He had shot one of his officers, and hanged two others, for murmuring at his proceedings, which occasioned the number of deserters to increase considerably. It cannot be doubted that Lally was an excellent soldier; he possessed great martial abilities, with an enlivening wit and a large fund of good sense; but all these qualities were obscured by a savage ferocity of temper, in which his mildest cruelties seemed like the transports of rage; pride was in him, perhaps, carried to as high a pitch as it ever was in any man: he despised every person that was below the character or dignity of a general, and his contempt of mankind brought a general detestation on himself; with all his haughtiness of spirit

spirit he was very slovenly in his person, being frequently known to wear the same shirt, stockings and slippers for weeks together.

As the monsoon season was every day expected to set in, colonel Coote thought it most prudent not to open any trenches against the town, till the tempestuous and rainy weather was over, but only to continue a strict blockade, which he was sensible must in time reduce the enemy to great hardships by the want of provisions. There being some ships in the harbour, which got in at the beginning of the year, admiral Stevens judged it necessary to cut them out, to prevent their escaping to the island, and returning to the garrison with supplies, which it was expected they would, as they were preparing to sail. Accordingly on the 6th of October in the evening the boats were manned and armed, and at two o'clock next morning they rowed into the harbour, and attacked under the walls of the town, the *Balcine*, a French frigate, and the *Hermione*, an Indiaman, with such uncommon spirit and alacrity, that, notwithstanding the enemy's crews made a vigorous opposition, and there was a warm fire of both artillery and musketry from the town, they cut their cables, and carried them off to the squadron.

The season now beginning to grow precarious, the admirals Stevens and Cornish prepared to leave the coast of Coromandel during the monsoons, and retire to the Dutch island of Ceylon, where they could refit the squadron, and shelter it from the storms which were expected to come on. Agreeable to this resolution they set sail on the 23d, and committed the blockade of Pondicherry by sea to captain Haldane, with five ships of the line. By this time the garrison and inhabitants began to be in great distress for provisions. Lally found means to convey an account of his situation and miseries to the commander of the French fleet; upon which seven of the ships sailed away for the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived there in December, in order to take in eight months provision for 16,000 men; but as they did not leave the Cape till January, it was impossible they should arrive at Pondicherry time enough to give the garrison any relief.

Colonel Coote's account of the siege, in a letter to the Secretary of State, being very particular without being tedious, take as follows.

‘ On the 9th of November, says the colonel, I ordered a
‘ ricochet battery for four pieces of cannon to be erected to
‘ the northward, at about one thousand four hundred yards
‘ from the town, more with a design to harraßs the enemy,
than

than any damage we could think of doing to the works at so great a distance. On the 10th we began to land our stores, and to prepare every thing for the carrying on the siege. On the 26th, I imagined the distresses of the enemy might be much augmented, and garrison duty rendered very fatiguing, if some batteries were erected against different quarters of the town: I therefore gave directions to the engineers to pitch on proper places, at such distances and in such situations, that the shot from them might enfilade the works of the garrison, and our men and guns not to be exposed to any certain fire of the enemy. Accordingly the following batteries were traced out, one (called the Prince of Wales's) for four guns, near the beach on the north side, to enfilade the great street, which runs north and south thro' the White Town: One for four guns and two mortars, to the north-west bastion, called the Duke of Cumberland's: A third, called Prince Edward's, for two guns, to the southward, at one thousand two hundred yards distance, to enfilade the streets from south to north, so as to cross the fire from the northern battery: And a fourth, to the south-west, called Prince William's, for two guns and one mortar, at one thousand one hundred yards distance, in order to destroy the guns in St. Thomas's redoubt, and to ruin the vessels and boats near it. On the 8th at midnight they were all opened together, and continued firing till day-light. On the 9th the enemy kept up a warm fire on our batteries, without doing much damage to them. On the 25th admiral Stevens, with four ships of the line arrived off Pondicherry, having parted company with admiral Cornish and his division the 16th instant in hard weather. On the 29th a battery, called the Hanover, was begun, for ten guns and three mortars, to the north-ward, at four hundred and fifty yards distance from the town, against the north-west counterguard and curtain.

On the 1st of January, 1761, we had a very violent storm of wind and rain; it began at eight o'clock in the evening, and lasted till between three and four the next morning. I gave directions for the repairing our batteries, which the storm had almost ruined, and the putting every thing into the best order our present situation would admit.

On the 4th we had again the agreeable sight of admiral Stevens. On the 5th I attacked a post of very great consequence to the enemy, in which were four twenty-eight pounders, called St. Thomas's Redoubt, and carried it without any loss. At day-light on the 6th 300 of the enemy's grenadiers retook it, owing to the officer commanding the redoubt

'doubt not being able to keep his Seapoys together. This
 'day admiral Cornish arrived; and as most of the ships which
 'had been disabled were now refitted, the blockade of Pondi-
 'cherry was as compleat as ever. On the 12th, the Hanover
 'battery being repaired, kept up a very brisk fire, and greatly
 'damaged the counter-guard bastion, and made a breach in
 'the curtain. On the 13th, in the evening, I ordered a work-
 'ing party of 700 Europeans and 400 Lascars, with the pioneers
 'company, under the command of a major, to the northward,
 'where the engineers traced out a battery for eleven guns and
 'three mortars. At eight o'clock they began a trench for
 'introducing gabions of four feet high, which were to form
 'the interior facing of the battery. At the same time a pa-
 'rallel was begun 90 yards in the rear, of 250 yards long,
 'and an approach of 400 yards in the length. Notwithstand-
 'ing the moon shone very bright, and the battery within 500
 'yards of the walls, every thing went on without the least
 'disturbance from the enemy. By morning six embrasures
 'were in a condition to receive guns, and the rest far advanced.
 'This was called the Royal Battery. On the 14th the Hano-
 'ver battery kept up a constant fire the whole day, which
 'entirely ruined the west face and flank of the north-west
 'bastion. On the 15th the Royal battery was opened, which
 'by eight o'clock in the morning silenced the fire of the ene-
 'my, and gave us an opportunity of beginning a trench to
 'contain our Royal mortars and three guns, for the more
 'speedy demolition of the demi-bastion and ravelin of Ma-
 'drass-gate. This evening colonel Durre, of the Royal artil-
 'lery, the chief of the Jesuits, and two civilians, were sent
 'out by m. Lally, with proposals for the delivering up the
 'garrison. On the 6th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the
 'grenadiers of my regiment took possession of the Villenour
 'gate, and in the evening those of Draper's of the citadel.
 'The commissaries were immediately ordered to take an ac-
 'count of all the military stores found in the place.'

During the siege many deserters came to the English camp, and
 reported, that so great was the distress among the garrison for
 provisions, that a cat had been known to sell for twenty Shil-
 lings sterling, and that half of a dog had been sold for sixteen
 Shillings. They had supported themselves a considerable time
 on a cocoa-nut-tree, the heart of which they cut and boiled.
 A pint of rice sold for two pagods or sixteen Shillings. Their
 fire at first was very slow, but after a while it was tolera-
 bly brisk.

While the siege was thus vigorous pushed by land, the ad-
 mirals, animated with zeal for the service they were on, re-
 newed

newed the blockade of Pondicherry before the tempestuous weather was over; they knew some of the enemy's ships had been sent to the Cape of Good Hope to take in provisions for the garrison, and that they were shortly expected on the coast of Coromandel, and were therefore resolved to have a sufficient force to prevent any succours being thrown into the town. Unfortunately on the first of January, about ten o'clock at night, such a violent storm came on, that admiral Stevens soon found it would be impossible to weather it out; therefore he ordered the ships to cut their cables and put to sea; but the wind shifting a few minutes after, drove the *Acquitain* and *Sunderland*, two sixty gun ships, on the coast, where they foundered, and their whole crews, except eleven men, perished: The *Newcastle* of fifty guns, the *Queenborough* of twenty, and the *Protector* fire-ship, were also drove ashore and lost; but most of their crews were saved, as well as their cannon and stores; three other ships were dismasted, but providentially the remainder of the squadron did not receive much damage, and part of it was entirely out of the storm, tho' only at ten leagues distance. These were the ships which left Ceylon after admiral Stevens, and were now on their passage to join him, which they did when he returned to Pondicherry road, a day or two after the storm had subsided; and their seasonable assistance was of the utmost importance at this critical time. The damaged ships were repaired as soon as possible; and every thing on board the fleet put in a proper state of defence, in case of an attack from the French squadron, whose appearance they every day expected.

As soon as general Lally was informed of the misfortune which had befallen the English fleet, he immediately ordered a public thanksgiving; but with his usual cruelty, he ordered his garrison to fire at one of the wrecks which the wind drove near the harbour, lest any body should be saved; in return for which providence seems to have punished him proportionably to his want of humanity; for tho' the beach was covered with ships provisions, any of which would have been a comfortable relief to the distressed garrison, yet the sea did not wash the least part near the place. At the same time he dispatched a letter to mons. Raymond, the French resident at Pullicat, which was intercepted by admiral Stevens, and of which the following is a literal translation.

Pondi-

Pondicherry, Jan. 2. 1761.

Mr. RAYMOND,

THE English squadron is no more, Sir: Out of the 12 ships they had in our road, 7 are lost, crews and all; the 4 others dismasted; and it appears there is no more than one frigate that hath escaped; therefore don't lose an instant to send us chelingoos upon chelingoos loaded with rice: The Dutch have nothing to fear now; besides (according to the rights of the nations) they are only to send us no provision *themselves*, and we are no more blocked up by sea. The saving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already: if you miss the present opportunity it will be entirely your fault: Don't forget also small chelingoos: Offer great rewards: I expect seventeen thousand morattoes within these four days. In short, risque all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time.

Signed

LALLY.

As letters of this kind might have been sent to other persons, which the admiral had not the good fortune to intercept, he immediately wrote and dispatched circular letters to all the Dutch and Danish settlements, acquainting them, That notwithstanding the representations of general Lally, he had eleven sail of his Britannic Majesty's ships of the line, and two frigates, under his command, in condition for service, holding the blockade of Pondicherry; and as that place was closely invested and blockaded by land and sea; and, as in that case, it was contrary to the law of nations for any neutral power to give them any succour or relief, he had determined to seize any vessel or boat, that should attempt to throw any provisions into that place.

Lally, in a certain expectation of relief from the French squadron, allowed himself to be blockaded within the town for eight months, till at length, not having a morsel of any thing to eat, he was compelled by famine to surrender. He made no kind of articles for the inhabitants: The chief of the Jesuits demanded of the colonel, that their effects and houses should not be plundered; but that they should have liberty to remove or stay as they pleased, and continue in the free exercise of their religion, with all their privileges preserved as heretofore. But he returned no answer.

There were found in the place five hundred sixty seven pieces of cannon, iron and brass, fifteen howitzers, eighty nine

nine mortars, and a large quantity of shot, powder, shells, &c. with muskets for upwards of 50,000 men; and a prodigious number of pistols, carbines, swords, bayonets, &c. and a great quantity of every other kind of military stores. But, contrary to the expectations of some, who fancied the town was rich, there was no treasure found in it.

It will be an eternal ignominy on m. Lally's character, that when he marched out of the citadel, the private men, and many of his officers, saluted him with a loud hiss, and expressed their avowed hatred to his person by loading him with the most opprobrious names. His commissary, who had been a dupe to his passions, attempted to vindicate him; but he paid for his officiousness with his life: And even Lally himself, had he not at this instant fled to the English, would also have been assassinated by the incensed soldiery. The garrison consisted of about fourteen hundred and fifty men. The Governor's house and other edifices were blown up; and the fortifications were almost wholly erased, in the same manner as the French had done at fort St. David in 1758.

During these successes in Asia, our fleets stationed on the coast of France blocked up all the French ports, and thereby put almost an entire stop to their commerce. Some of our ships took the little island of Dumet, which proved of considerable use to the fleet, as they had a conveniency at hand for water, which had been sent before this in transports from England at no little expence, besides obliging the men sometimes to submit to short allowance.

In the mean time, the attention of all ranks of people was entirely engrossed by the proceedings of a general court-martial, appointed by his majesty to sit on the trial of lord George Sackville. His lordship had petitioned for one as soon as he arrived in England, after the battle of Minden; but it was not found convenient to assemble it till the beginning of March; for many officers were to be called home from Germany as witnesses; and there were other reasons of a different nature. It was a point very much disputed, whether a man, dismissed from all his military employments, could be tried for an offence, committed while he was in the army; and as opinions differed extremely, the case was laid before the judges: It was supposed from their answer, that he might legally be tried. Accordingly, a court-martial, consisting of the following members, met the 29th of February, for that purpose:

X

Lieutenant

Lieutenant-general Onslow, president,
 Sir Charles Howard,
 Campbell,
 Lord Delaware,
 Cholmondeley,
 Stuart,
 earl of Panmure,
 Ancram,
 Harrington,
 Abercrombie,
 Albemarle,
 Major-general Leighton,
 Carr,
 earl of Effingham,
 Belford.

On lord George Sackville's being ordered into court, the judge advocate informed him, that all the members of the court were sworn, except general Belford, who was omitted on account of an objection which his lordship said he should make to his being a member of the court. The following were the reasons lord George Sackville gave for his objection: "When I was appointed lieutenant-general to the ordnance, the duke of Marlborough ordered me to take the care of the artillery regiment upon me, as being one part of my duty. I represented to his grace, that when lord Ligonier was lieutenant-general of the ordnance, the care of the regiment was left entirely to the colonel commandant; the duke of Marlborough said, that he could not in decency have desired my lord Ligonier, who was his superior in the army, and had been for many years at the head of the ordnance, to enter into such a regimental detail; but that he had no scruple in desiring me to do that part of my duty, and to report regularly to him. I expressed my readiness to obey; but said, that, previous to my undertaking it, his grace must give the proper orders for recalling that power, which was at present in general Belford, as colonel commandant. It was accordingly done: And when I began to execute my duty, general Belford expressed his disapprobation of it, thinking any diminution of his authority might be looked upon as some degree of disapprobation of his conduct. I explained to him what had passed upon the subject, between the master General and me, and he appeared better satisfied; and, as I afterwards had an opportunity of representing his services so favourably to his majesty, as to obtain a considerable increase of emolument to him, I did imagine any little difference that had happened had been entirely forgot; but

but persons in my situation are apt to watch little attentions, which at other times would be too trifling to regard; and as, upon my return to England, general Belford was the only field officer of the regiment, with whom I was acquainted, that did not shew me even the common civility of a visit; and, as the first act he did, after my quitting the service, was recommending another aid de camp to my lord Granby, in preference to the artillery officer, who had attended me in that capacity, I confess these circumstances induced me to think, that general Belford still retained some degree of ill-will towards me; and tho' I am far from suspecting that he would knowingly permit his judgment to be influenced by such considerations; yet, as there is such a bias in the minds of men, when there is any prejudice in their breast, that it often affects their actions, unknown to themselves; I should hope the General would decline sitting upon this trial; I do not offer what I have said as a legal objection, but rather submit my reasons to the court and to him, for their consideration."

General Belford generously replied that he was far from being desirous to sit when objected to: the court thereupon took the affair into consideration, and were unanimously of opinion, that lord George Sackville's objection was insufficient to exclude general Bedford from sitting as a member; but as the General continued to excuse himself from sitting, the court agreed to it.

The trial of lord Charles Hay, a circumstance we formerly mentioned came on before the same court, where the absurdity of his behaviour, and some unwarrantable expressions which escaped him, provoked general Onslow, the president, who had a just sense of his dignity and equal spirit. He warmly resented it, which warmth had such an effect, that it cost the president his life, for scarce had he concluded his speech, but he dropped down of an apoplectic fit, and being instantly carried home, died in a few days. He was a great loss to the court-martial on lord George Sackville, as no man was ever more proper for a president of one.

There was a new warrant issued the 6th of March, appointing sir Charles Howard president, and adding to the former number of members, the major-generals lord Robert Manners, lord Robert Bertie, and Julius Cæsar. There were some remarkable articles of evidence in the course of the tryal which deserve to be remembered.

It was observed, not only by the members of the court, but by all present, that lieutenant colonel Sl---p---r gave his evidence with great acrimony, and was to appearance, much

prejudiced against the prisoner; this was what occasioned lord George Sackville's saying in his defence, "In what manner his evidence was given, I need not remind the court." And again. "If his own behaviour has not entirely destroyed the credit of his testimony." Lieut. col. Sloper, in his evidence, says, that as soon as capt. Ligonier had delivered the duke's order to lord George Sackville, he, Sloper, said to him, "For GOD's sake, sir, repeat your orders to that man, meaning lord George Sackville, that he may not pretend not to understand them, for it is near half an hour ago, that he has received orders to advance, and yet we are still here," adding, "But you see the condition he is in." Being afterwards desired to explain what he meant by these last words; he answer'd, that his opinion was, that lord George Sackville was alarmed to a very great degree; that when his lordship ordered him to advance, he seem'd in the greatest confusion.

LORD G. SACKVILLE. Sir Charles Howard, if I may be allowed to say a few words, touching this gentleman's, Sloper's, evidence, before I go any further,

Gen. CHOLMONDELEY. I am never against any indulgence to the prisoner.

LORD G. SACKVILLE. It is a little hard for me to be sitting here, and have a witness come against me, with an opinion of this nature, and I forced to remain entirely silent. I shall only say a few words. This sort of attack, I never heard before, from any one gentleman whatever, excepting from the private insinuations of this Gentleman, now before the court; I have heard of it since he has been in London. I am glad that he has mentioned it in court. I, -----

LORD ALBEMARLE. Your lordship will have an opportunity of observing upon that in your defence; but I am afraid we are going into an irregularity.

LORD G. SACKVILLE. I will only say now, that I will prove my conduct that day, with regard to every branch of it, and I will shew that Gentleman to the court in such colours for truth and veracity.

LORD ALBEMARLE. My lord, this is being very irregular.

LORD G. SACKVILLE. Your lordship may imagine, that what I must feel on such an occasion; and it is difficult not to express it instantly.

LORD ALBEMARLE. I am very sensible of what your lordship must feel, and sorry to interrupt; but the course of proceeding.

LORD G. SACKVILLE. I submit to the opinion of the court, and must beg leave to suppose, for the present, that no such evidence

evidence has been given. I shall now go on as if nothing of this sort had happened, and shall treat that Gentleman, in that part of his evidence, with the contempt it deserves.

In another place his lordship makes an observation, on the evidence of colonel Sloper, in the following words: "Having mentioned colonel Sloper's evidence, I am obliged to take notice of the aspersion he has thrown upon my character. Imputations of that nature were very little to be expected from one, who had the honour of arriving at the rank of a lieutenant general, after a course of some duty and service. It is hard upon a man to be obliged to speak of his own actions, or of his own merit and character in the service; but what makes it on this occasion absolutely unnecessary, is, that most of the generals, who compose this court, have either commanded me, or I have had the honour of commanding them; and I am persuaded they will feel a generous indignation in my behalf, and declare whether my former conduct ought not to have exempted me from so mean an attack."

During the course of the defence, lord George Sackville asked his witnesses such questions as he thought would contradict the aspersions thrown on him by lieutenant colonel Sloper; endeavouring to prove his evidence false in several particulars. As soon as he had finished examining his witnesses, the judge advocate observed that his lordship had, in his defence, impeached the lieutenant-colonel's credibility; proposing by way of reply, to support the credibility of the witness, when his lordship had summed up his defence; but lord George wanted to have the fresh evidence examined before he concluded his defence, that he might answer any thing new, that appeared; or else that the court would promise to permit him to make a rejoinder to the judge advocate's reply. Amongst other things which his lordship said, ----- "I find upon my trial a question of very great consequence. I did not care at that time to give an answer to it. The natural inference is, that the court will go on, and afterwards consider of it. My reason for desiring the court to go on now is, that I am desirous of hearing all that is to be said. As to the evidence I have given, I do not know how far the court will admit of evidence in reply to it; and suppose if any thing is offered by way of reply that is new, it may be necessary for me to ask for a rejoinder. I am frightened every time I talk of law; I am told, if the court lets the prosecutor into new matter in supply, it will bring on a rejoinder, that is, to answer the new matter;

" if

“ if that is the case, I shall have the same indulgence that every prisoner has in any court of justice.”

JUDGE ADVOCATE. In order that the reply may be properly made, I should be glad to hear what lord George has to offer in his observations.

As to a rejoinder, it is common in civil cases, if any new matter is introduced, the prisoner will have a right to answer that; I mentioned that particularly before.

I should be glad his lordship would not talk of law, I am not a military person, I do not really see why that should be thrown out, I have not the honour of wearing a military garb; but I hope I have endeavoured to conduct the prosecution with tenderness and candour.

As to the reply, it is agreeable to law, and practice founded on reason, that the prosecutor should be at liberty to establish the credit of his witnesses, and to reply to any new matter introduced in the course of the defence.

If the credibility of a witness is to be impeached, and his credit not to be established, I don't know to what purpose it would be to prosecute at all.

LORD G. SACKVILLE. As to the judge advocate, I wish, as he observes, he either wore a military garb, or was a person of such eminence and reputation in the profession of the law, as might entitle him to lay down the rules and practice of the courts of justice, in such a manner, as the prisoner might have no doubt of the truth of what was asserted to be law. I wish one of the judges of England was to sit here, the prisoner then would have been certain of being tried by the real laws of this land, and not by laws made occasionally for him; I desire therefore no middle term. The judge advocate is very able in his post; but I do not apprehend he knows the rules and practice of courts in general. Here what do you do? If there is a point of law, you refer to the judge-advocate; why, because you don't know law, not because he does. I know as little; I used the word rejoinder, I got it but the other day myself, and the court seemed to start when I mentioned it. When there is a difficulty, you refer to the judge-advocate, who is to determine; other courts never determine in any matter, without the advantage of being informed of what can be offered on both sides; this court, ignorant themselves of matter of law, can only receive their information from the prosecutor. I have a great respect for mr. Gould's character as judge-advocate, and think he sits there, and executes his office, as ably as any man I ever saw in his place. For the precedent it would make, I might say something; because

because every witness, whose character may be said to be impeached in a controverted proceeding, will by this means, have an opportunity of bringing the fresh evidence of fresh facts, and the prisoner must stand a second trial upon the same charge. As to my own part, if the court thinks fit to admit it, let them say that this does not affect me; let them say that the credit of the witness is impeached; by contradicting his facts; let them say, that such is the practice of courts-martial; I shall lament the fate of those who are to be tried by courts-martial; but with regard to myself, it is impossible for me to object to the determination. What I have proved, is the shewing the opinion of those about me, to whom I gave orders, with whom I was during the whole day, that is a direct contradiction of the fact; it includes the time of which col. Sloper speaks, the evidence now offered, is not to support this fact, it relates to another time.

Indeed the judge-advocate has said, it is not matter for the court, but for the publick, it is so. It is food for clamour, for which reason I wish to see the bottom of it. I should not have stood here, a prisoner at this bar, if I had been afraid of any thing that could be said, conscious innocence is my support.

Notwithstanding all that I have suffered, that innocence still supports me. I feel myself injured, and I know myself innocent. I feel myself before a court, that is to punish the guilty; but the most amiable part of their jurisdiction, is to protect the innocent.

I have confidence in every set of gentlemen, who are upon oath, to do justice; no gentleman can be under any influence.

In this court a prisoner has an additional security; he is sure, their honour will bind them, if their oath did not; standing under that security, I defy the prosecutor.

Let col. Sloper stand forth, and from a witness become the agent of a prosecution. Let his character be supported by the testimony of opinion; not founded upon facts, will only shew a readiness to form an opinion to a man's disadvantage.

It is not proof; it is not a foundation for a court of justice to determine upon; it could not be brought hence, but with another intention.

If the court will establish the precedent, I submit; but out of regard to the profession I once was of, I oppose it.

Permit me to say, when I take my leave of the profession, that tho' I shall submit it to the decision of the court, I shall lament the jurisdiction.

The court determined that no new witnesses should be called in to prove that Lord George Sackville appeared alarmed. But that they would admit evidence to prove col. Sloper's having declared these facts the day after.

We shall conclude what we have to say on the subject of col. S-----r's evidence, with observing, that there had been formerly a quarrel between lord George Sackville and him, which was never made up.

The prisoner, during all the trial, behaved with great conduct, and discovered very great abilities; he endeavoured where ever he could introduce them, to throw reflections on duke Ferdinand, implying, that he had posted the cavalry of the right wing where it could be of no service; but such insinuations were very little regarded, as the contrary was known to be the truth. As to his guilt, the court adjudged him by their sentence unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever. As it is not the custom for land courts-martial to draw up a set of resolutions by way of reasons for their sentence; we cannot here so readily determine the nature of his lordship's guilt. That he was guilty, is indisputable; he most undoubtedly disobeyed the orders of duke Ferdinand. His serene highness ordered him to advance thro' the trees on his left, to form a third line, and support the infantry. Now it was very evident that the infantry were to be supported; and if that was the case, the time must consequently be extremely critical. Could this reasonably be thought a season for requiring an explanation of his orders, when they ought instantly to have been put in execution? Had he not better have disobeyed his orders in part, by advancing forwards, and doing his duty, instead of turning to the left? But the misfortune was, he never stirred at all. If he had advanced, it would at least have shewn an inclination to obey. We cannot help attributing his bad conduct at that battle, to his disgust at the duke's command. A motive which certainly fixes a greater stain than cowardice could possibly do. His lordship concludes the introduction to his defence, in these words. " This defence is intended, not for the world, but for the information of the court. All I at present desire is, that mankind would suspend their judgment of my conduct, till the evidence is closed; then I trust in the goodness of my cause, which has supported me under a load of calumny, and emboldened me to ask for this trial; that under your favourable judgment, the candid, will with pleasure acquit me, the prejudiced be obliged to retract their rash censures, and that I shall again be restored to the good opinion of my country, and

‘ and of my sovereign,” And again at the end of his defence,
‘ he says: “ My witnesses cannot say what they have said,
‘ in support of innocence. They may have no motive of inter-
‘ est: What motives of interest can there be on the side of
‘ one who is a prisoner, who has been in great employments?
‘ Perhaps unworthily? Employments, which had I continued
‘ in power, might have procured good-will, at least the ap-
‘ pearance of it. At present they can have no temptation
‘ but the force of truth; and by their appearing in that cause;
‘ and on these motives, they deserve as great a degree of
‘ credibility, as any witness at any bar. In justice to them
‘ I have troubled the court thus far. I shall trouble them no
‘ longer; but express my acknowledgments, not only for their
‘ patience in hearing me, but for the many instances of their
‘ indulgence. I can expect no better security for my cause,
‘ than their uninfluenced determination. I have mentioned
‘ already, that I have the security of their oath; I have a
‘ stronger still, their honour: Upon that I rely. ----- If I
‘ am guilty, let me be declared so. If I am not guilty, let
‘ the court shew by their sentence, that they will with pleasure
‘ protect the innocent.’

’Tis well known what a natural aversion the late king had to soldiers who neglected their duty; he no sooner confirmed the sentence of the court-martial, than he ordered lord George Sackville’s name to be struck out of the list of privy-council. His Majesty had, during the whole course of the trial, expressed himself very anxiously on some particulars relating to their proceedings. He had been heard to say, “ This trial is not on “ the general, but on me.” It was remarked that one member of the court during the trial, asked only leading questions in favour of lord George Sackville; and on the contrary, another asked only what might make against him, with so much personal animosity was the whole proceeding managed.

During this summer the attention of all ranks of people was taken up with the very considerable preparations that had been carrying on at Portsmouth, for months successively; a large squadron of men of war, with transports sufficient to carry 10,000 men were collected at Spithead. Troops, horse and foot, marched from all parts of England to Portsmouth. Mortars, cannon, bombs, ammunition, and a multitude of all sorts of warlike implements both for the field, and a siege, were transported thither. The greatness of these preparations alarmed the French, who expected another visit on some part of their coast, when they prepared at all their ports to receive it; about the middle of November, the troops, to the amount

of about 8000 men, embarked. General Kingfley was appointed to command in chief by land, and commodore Keppel by sea. The fleet lay wind-bound at Spithead some days, and before they could sail, the commanders received counter orders, directing the troops to be disembarked, as the expedition was laid aside 'till the spring. The nation in general was greatly surpris'd at these sudden orders; nor could any indifferent person pretend to mention the destination of the armament. Numberless conjectures were formed; but many circumstances considered, there is great reason to suppose that this expedition was designed to co-operate with that of the hereditary prince of Brunswick, when he laid siege to Wesel. 'Tis probable the fleet were to land troops at the beach of Blankenburg, on the coast of the Austrian Netherlands, from which place they might have marched to the Maese, to join the hereditary prince, and have enabled him to prosecute the war in those parts with the greater vigor. There are more reasons than one that favour this opinion; but particularly the small number of troops employed, which was too inconsiderable to make an attempt on the coast of France, and by a detachment of the guards being embarked, and the lateness of the season, it was plain their destination was in Europe. But when it was found that the hereditary prince was prevented from executing his expedition, it might possibly be thought better to lay aside the naval armament till the spring, and then to send it against Martinico.

In the midst of these expectations an event happened which filled the nation with grief. His most sacred majesty GEORGE II. died on the 25th of October, at his palace at Kensington, in a very sudden manner; his death being occasioned by the bursting of the right ventricle of his heart. He finished a long and happy reign, in the midst of a period which was distinguish'd by great events. It is needless to say, that he was a good, a brave, a just, and a virtuous king; his many amiable qualities adorned the throne on which he sat so long, and which he left at a time so glorious for himself and his subjects. These blessings endeared him to the hearts of a grateful people. His Majesty expired at the age of 77, after a reign of thirty-four years. This event happened between the hours of seven and eight in the morning at Kensington. He had rose at his usual time without any apparent signs of indisposition. He called his page, drank his chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as if anxious for the arrival of the mails, which had then been detained in Holland a considerable time. He opened his window, and seeing it a fine day, said he would walk in the
gar-

gardens. This passed while the page attended him at breakfast; but on leaving the room he heard a deep sigh, immediately followed by a noise like the falling of a billet of wood from the fire, and returning hastily, found the king dropped down from his seat, as if in attempting to ring the bell, who said faintly, *Call Amelia*, and then expired. He was instantly raised and laid on the bed; the princess was called, who upon her entering the room was told he was dead; but being a little deaf, and her spirits hurried by the alarm, she did not understand what was said, and ran up to the bedside, and stooping tenderly over her father, as thinking he might speak to her in a low voice, she then first discovered he was dead; this shock so sudden, so unexpected, and so violent, threw her into an agony. His majesty in the fall received a small hurt on his temple, and his physicians and surgeons being sent for, came instantly to his assistance, but without effect. An attempt was made to bleed him, but the issues of life were dried up.

The cause of a monarch's death is always enquired into with such minuteness, that it may be thought necessary to give the following account of what appeared to the serjeant surgeons upon opening the body. On opening the belly they found all the parts in a natural and healthy state, except that on the surface of the kidney there were some watry bladders, which, they said, could not have been at this time of any material consequence. On opening the breast, they observed the pericardium, or bag, which contains the heart, extraordinarily distended, which was owing to a large effusion of blood that had been discharged therein, from a rupture in the substance of the right ventricle of the heart. The quantity of the blood in the pericardium was at least a pint, the most part of which was strongly coagulated. The rupture of the ventricle, and the consequent effusion of blood in the pericardium, was certainly the immediate cause of his sudden death. The brain, lungs, and all other parts, were in a perfect state. This case is said by the faculty to be of the most extraordinary kind, because he was of a healthy constitution, unaccustomed to excess, and far advanced beyond that period of life, when the blood might be supposed to flow with a dangerous impetuosity. We will now proceed to his character.

KING GEORGE was in his person well shaped and erect, but he was rather below the middle size. His complexion was fair, his nose high, and his eyes large. His mien was majestic; and he bore age so extremely well, that time sat on his countenance with a grace; perhaps not a little owing to his regular way of living, which was temperate and extremely methodical.

In his temper he was sometimes hasty and violent; however, he was merciful, and, on numberless occasions, humane; he has been censured as parsimonious, and this censure was not wholly without foundation. In the character of a soldier he appears with great lustre; he loved war, studied it as a science, corresponded on the subject with some of the best officers in Germany, and, above all, was personally brave. To say he was perfectly acquainted with our constitution, would, in the opinion of some men, be paying him as disputable a compliment, as to say he perfectly knew our language. However it must be acknowledged, he was a thorough statesman with regard to the affairs of Germany. It is true, his government seldom deviated from the established forms of law; yet it was distinguished by a close attention to the interests of Germany, and his mind marked by a strong affection for his native country; neither was his reign less remarkable for German wars; in all which Great Britain was constantly plunged, either to trim the balance of power, or enter into treaties for the defence of the protestant religion. He lived to see the spirit of party extinguished, though it was not until the close of his reign; to enjoy the comfortable satisfaction of having his family firmly and immoveably seated on the throne; to experience the fullest measure of his peoples affection, and to see the success of his arms and the power of his kingdoms raised to a higher pitch of conquest and glory, than it was once thought they could possibly arrive at: When all these events were accomplished, it was his earnest desire to see an end of the war, his disposition being naturally pacific. He was an enemy to no religion; never endeavouring to cramp the free and full exercise of the powers of the human mind: Among the many sects which divide and compose the people of Great Britain, his mildness and general toleration will command respect to his memory, which the followers of all opinions will not cease to pay: All must honour him because he ruled justly so long, and they will not forget that during his government they enjoyed many internal blessings, and if we except one momentary interruption, (the rebellion of the Scots in 1745) a perfect tranquillity.

He was succeeded in the imperial crown of these kingdoms by his grandson, GEORGE, prince of Wales, our present most gracious sovereign, who was immediately proclaimed with the usual ceremony, under the title of GEORGE III. All the lords and others of the late king's privy-council were sworn of his majesty's privy council, who was pleased on the first day of his accession, to make the following declaration to them.

“ The

“ The loss that I and the nation have sustained by the death of the king, my grandfather, would have been severely felt at any time; but coming at so critical a juncture, and so unexpected, it is, by many circumstances, augmented; and the weight now falling upon me much increased; I feel my own insufficiency to support it as I wish; but animated by the tenderest affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordships, and on the support and assistance of every honest man, I enter with cheerfulness into this arduous situation, and shall make it the business of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happiness of these kingdoms, to preserve and strengthen both the constitution in church and state; and as I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in the manner most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies.”

This declaration was remarkably pleasing to all ranks of people; and the words, “ This my native country,” could not but be excessively grateful to British ears. His Majesty began his reign in the most promising and popular manner. A proclamation was published for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing vice, immorality, and profaneness. His royal highness, the duke of York, and the earl of Bute, who was appointed groom of the stole to his Majesty, were sworn into the privy-council the 27th; and, in a few weeks after, the earl of Huntingdon was made master of the horse, the honourable George Townshend, and the lord viscount Royston, were also made privy counsellors. Some other changes and promotions took place, but not of importance. On the 8th of November a proclamation was issued for proroguing the parliament to the 18th of that month, on which day his Majesty went with the usual state, attended by the earls of Huntingdon and Bute, to the house of peers, and the commons being at the bar of that house, his Majesty made a most gracious speech to them, in which, after mentioning the greatness of the loss the nation had lately sustained, he proceeded in these words, “ Born
“ and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Bri-
“ ton: and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist
“ in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty, and
“ warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most
“ permanent security of my throne.” What words could be more pleasing to a British parliament than this declaration? The lords, in their address, have this paragraph. “ We
“ are

“ are penetrated with the condescending and endearing manner, in which your Majesty has expressed your satisfaction, in having received your birth and education amongst us. What a lustre does it cast on the name of Briton, when you, sir, are pleased to esteem it amongst your glories?” His Majesty’s whole speech was extremely affectionate and popular; and the address of the lords and commons as dutiful and loyal.

The period in which his Majesty came to the throne was so extremely brilliant for Great Britain, that his accession promised a reign equally glorious to himself and advantageous to his subjects. He ascended the throne, at a time, when his kingdoms were engaged in a truly national and fortunate war. He had the happiness to see faction banished from home, and his arms victorious abroad. That unparalleled unanimity which took place among all ranks of people, when the odious names of Whig and Tory seemed extinct, but when every one was desirous to be distinguished by no other title but that of Briton; then it was, that our victorious arms carried terror to the furthest regions of the earth, and reduced France, our constant, and once formidable, enemy, to the low state in which we see her at present. It was reserved for his Majesty to become the sovereign of these imperial realms, at a period, when they were dreaded and respected by all their neighbours; when British fleets sailed unresisted to the remotest regions; when her armies marched only to enjoy victory; and when a series of glorious events tended to exalt her power, and extend her influence and dominion, and to raise her sovereign to that pitch of prosperity, which might be envied by the greatest monarch in the universe.

There had been some proposals towards an accommodation, at the close of the foregoing year, by their Britannic and Prussian majesties, which were not much regarded by the powers at war with them. This year they were renewed in a declaration delivered by the Austrian minister, residing at the Hague, to his serene highness, prince Lewis of Brunswick, in answer to that which his highness had delivered on the part of Britain and Prussia. This declaration was conceived in the usual specious manner, being full of professions on the part of France and her allies, to use their sincere endeavours for re-establishing the tranquillity of Europe, tho’ both sides were then taking the field, and the advances made towards a pacification on our part had been neglected near six months. The king of Spain’s offer of mediation is here highly extolled on the part of France, with an intimation of making, thro’ his good offices, a particular treaty of peace with England. What those good offices were

were to be, was sufficiently known, when a treaty of peace actually commenced; in the mean time all ended in formal professions and interrupted none of the operations for this campaign, which was continued in Westphalia so late that several skirmishes happened in the winter; for between 3 and 4000 men was attacked at Heilengensstadt by count Broglie, at the head of ten thousand French. General Luckner, as the town was invested on all sides, had no other method of retreat, but by the road which leads to Witzzenhausen, where, having gained an advantageous eminence, he cannonaded the French with such success, that he secured his retreat to Scharffenstein, without the loss of a single man or horse killed or wounded. But an officer and thirty militia-men, who were left in the town were taken prisoners. The French are supposed to have lost on this occasion about 300 men. General Luckner was detached the next day, the 24th of December, to Heilengensstadt, and finding the French had quitted it, retook possession of it.

On the 2d of January, 1761, count Broglie, with a large body of troops, and assisted likewise in his operations by lieutenant-general m. de Stainville, attacked the town of Duderstadt. General Mansberg was posted there, but found it necessary to quit the town, which the enemy entered. General Mansberg took possession of the heights of Harbisdagen, where he maintained himself till the arrival of the generals Kilmansegge and Luckner, to his succour, who the next day attacked the French in Duderstadt, drove them from thence, and pursued them as far as Witzzenhausen. The loss of the French, in this action, was, according to their own accounts, six hundred men; two hundred of them were made prisoners; among whom was three compleat companies of French grenadiers. The loss of the allies, was about one hundred and ninety men.

On the 8th of January, a detachment of a hundred and fifty men, and two companies of grenadiers, under the command of the viscount de Belfunce, marched out of Gottingen, attacked a post of the allies near Gibelhausen, and made about 120 men prisoners; among whom were four officers. And, on the 27th of the same month, the French, under m. de St. Victor, surprised the post of Stadbergen. Major Delaune, who commanded the garrison, composed of part of Lane's battalion, was killed in his chamber. A short time after, the chevalier de Origny made a battalion of the Britannie legion prisoners at Wolfshagen, where he took one piece of cannon and a magazine. About this time the French royal legion made 300 prisoners at Alsfelt, who had been left there for their recovery.

very. A battalion of Hanoverians, that blocked up the castle of Arolsen, was, for the most part, taken or destroyed. The next day colonel Colignon abandoned Nordheim to the garrison at Gottingen, and in his retreat lost 220 men, with two pieces of cannon.

We shall close the account of this years transactions with the opening of his present Majesty's *first parliament*, and some of the capital transactions there, which we shall dwell on with some pleasure, as that demon dissention had not yet divided national councils.

The KING's FIRST SPEECH in Parliament.

" My lords and gentlemen,

THE just concern which I have felt in my own breast, on the sudden death of the late king, my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt, but you must all have been deeply affected with so severe a loss. The present critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loss the more sensible, as he was the great support of that system, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms can be preserved, and gave life to measures, conducive to those important ends.

I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at such a time, and under such circumstances. My consolation is in the uprightness of my intentions, your faithful and united assistance, and the blessing of heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not, but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to, and strengthen, this excellent constitution in church and state; and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown: And, as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

I reflect,

I reflect, with pleasure, on the successes with which the British arms have been prospered this last summer. The total reduction of the vast province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the most interesting consequence, and must be as heavy a blow to my enemies, as it is a conquest glorious to us; the more glorious, because effected almost without effusion of blood, and with that humanity which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation.

Our advantages gained in the East Indies have been signal; and must greatly diminish the strength and trade of France in those parts, as well as procure the most solid benefits to the commerce and wealth of my subjects.

In Germany, where the whole French force has been employed, the combined army, under the wise and able conduct of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, has not only stopt their progress, but has gained advantages over them, notwithstanding their boasted superiority, and their not having hitherto come to a general engagement.

My good brother and ally, the king of Prussia, although surrounded with numerous armies of enemies, has, with a magnanimity and perseverance almost beyond example, not only withstood their various attacks, but has obtained very considerable victories over them.

Of these events I shall say no more at this time, because the nature of the war in those parts has kept the campaign there still depending.

As my navy is the principle article of our naval strength, it gives me much satisfaction to receive it in such good condition; whilst the fleet of France is weakened to such a degree, that the small remains of it have continued to be blocked up by my ships in their own ports; at the same time the French trade is reduced to the lowest ebb; and with joy of heart I see the commerce of my kingdoms, that great source of our riches, and fixed object of my never-failing care and protection, flourishing to an extent unknown in any former war.

The valour and intrepidity of my officers and forces, both at sea and land, have been distinguished so much to the glory of this nation, that I should be wanting in justice to them, if I did not acknowledge it. This is a merit which I shall constantly encourage and reward; and I take this occasion to declare, that the zealous and useful service of the militia, in the present arduous conjuncture, is very acceptable to me.

In this state I have found things at my accession to the throne of my ancestors: Happy, in viewing the prosperous part of it; happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms,

whose true interest I have entirely at heart, in full peace: But since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies, rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture, made last winter, towards a congress for a pacification, has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your chearful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose, it is absolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

THE greatest uneasiness which I feel at this time, is in considering the uncommon burthens, necessarily brought upon my faithful subjects. I desire only such supplies as shall be requisite to prosecute the war with advantage; be adequate to the necessary services; and that they may be provided for in the most sure and effectual manner. You may depend upon the faithful and punctual application of what shall be granted. I have ordered the proper estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and also an account of the extraordinary expences, which from the nature of the different and remote operations, have been unavoidably incurred.

It is with peculiar reluctance that I am obliged, at such a time, to mention any thing which personally regards myself. But, as the grant of the greatest part of the civil list revenues is now determined, I trust in your duty and affection to me, to make the proper provision for supporting my civil government with honour and dignity. On my part, you may be assured of a regular and becoming œconomy.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE eyes of all Europe are upon you. From your resolutions the protestant interest hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final disappointment of their ambitious and destructive views. Let these hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour, unanimity, and dispatch of our proceedings.

In this expectation I am the more encouraged, by a pleasing circumstance, which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of divisions, and that

that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospect. The natural disposition and wish of my heart, are to cement and promote them; and I promise myself that nothing will arise on your part to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people."

The people were transported with loyalty and affection upon hearing this speech, and the idea of such a patriot king, who gloried in being a Briton, made them rend the air with acclamations. The House of Commons in their address re-echoed every paragraph in triumph to the throne, with the following address.

ADDRESS of the HOUSE of COMMONS.

" *Most gracious Sovereign,*

" **W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, approach your royal presence, to express the deepest sense of the great and severe loss, which your majesty, and these kingdoms, have sustained by the death of your majesty's royal grandfather, our late most excellent sovereign; the memory of whose just and prosperous reign will be held in reverence by latest posterity.

We beg leave to congratulate your majesty on your happy accession to the throne, the only consideration that can alleviate our grief for such a loss. The knowledge of your majesty's royal virtues, wisdom, and firmness, opens to your faithful subjects the fairest prospect for their future happiness at home, and for the continuance of that weight and influence of your majesty's crown abroad, so essentially necessary, in this arduous and critical conjuncture, for the preservation of that system, upon which the liberties of Europe depend.

We return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and acknowledge, with the liveliest sentiments of duty, gratitude, and exaltation of mind, those most affecting and animating words of our most gracious sovereign. That, Born and Educated in this country, he glories in the name of Briton. And we offer to your majesty the full tribute of our hearts, for the warm expressions of your truly royal and tender affection towards your people. We venerate, and confide in, those sacred assurances of your majesty's firm and invariable resolution to adhere to, and strengthen, this excellent constitution in church and state; to maintain the

toleration inviolate; and to protect your faithful subjects in that greatest of human blessings, the secure enjoyment of their religious and civil rights.

Permit us to congratulate your majesty on the various successes, which, under the protection of GOD, have attended the British arms, during the last summer; particularly in the reduction of Montreal, and the entire province of Canada; a conquest equally important and glorious, atchieved with intrepidity, and closed with humanity, the genuine attributes of that British spirit, which, under the benign auspices of your majesty, will, we trust, continue, by the divine assistance, to give additional lustre to the arms of Great Britain.

This valuable and extensive acquisition, joined to the signal advantages gained in the East Indies; the flourishing state of our commerce; the respectable condition of your majesty's navy, by which the remains of the enemy's fleet continue blocked up in their harbours, whilst their trade is almost annihilated; are considerations which fill our hearts with the most pleasing hopes, that your majesty will be thereby enabled to prosecute this just and necessary war, to that great and desirable object of establishing, in conjunction with your allies, a safe, honourable, and lasting peace.

We see, with the greatest pleasure, that the progress of the French armies in Germany, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, has been stopt, and, to the honour of your majesty's arms, their attempts hitherto baffled, by the wise and able conduct of his serene highness prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

When we consider the stupendous efforts, made, in every campaign, by your majesty's great ally, the king of Prussia, the defeat of the Austrians in Silesia, and that recent and glorious victory obtained over the army commanded by marshal Daun, we cannot sufficiently admire the invincible constancy of mind, and inexhaustible resources of genius, displayed by that magnanimous monarch, to whom the most dangerous and difficult situations have only administered fresh occasions for glory.

Our most dutiful acknowledgments are due to your majesty for the mention which you have so graciously made of the distinguished valour and intrepidity of your officers and forces at sea and land, and for the declaration of your majesty's constant resolution to encourage and reward such merit; and we return our most humble thanks to your majesty for your favourable acceptance of the zealous and useful service of the militia, in the present arduous conjuncture.

We

We assure your majesty, that your faithful Commons, thoroughly sensible of this important crisis, and desirous, with the divine assistance, to render your majesty's reign successful and glorious in war, happy and honourable in peace, the natural return of a grateful people to a gracious and affectionate sovereign, will concur in such measures as shall be requisite for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war; and that we will cheerfully and speedily grant such supplies as shall be found necessary for that purpose, and for the support of the king of Prussia, and the rest of your majesty's allies: Firmly relying on your majesty's wisdom, goodness, and justice, that they will be applied in such a manner as will most effectually answer the ends for which they are granted, and with the utmost œconomy that the nature of such great and extensive operations will allow; and that we will make such an adequate provision for your majesty's civil government as may be sufficient to maintain the honour and dignity of your crown with all proper and becoming lustre.

Your Majesty's faithful Commons approach your royal person with hearts penetrated by the warmest and liveliest sense of your unbounded tenderness and concern for the welfare of your people; and rejoicing at the high satisfaction your Majesty takes in the union which so universally prevails throughout your kingdoms: A deep sense of that national strength and prosperity visibly derived from this salutary source, and, above all, your majesty's approbation of that happy union, and the natural disposition and wish of your royal heart to cement and promote it; are the strongest incentives to concord, and the surest pledge of it's duration. The fixt resolution, which your majesty has declared, to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue, will, we doubt not, prove the best means of drawing down the favour of GOD upon a dutiful and united nation; and we shall never cease devoutly to offer up our ardent vows to the Divine Providence, that, as a recompence for these royal virtues, your majesty may reign in the hearts of a free and happy people; and that they, excited by your majesty's benevolent care to discharge your royal function, and animated by gratitude for the enjoyment of so many blessings, may make the due return, by a constant obedience to your laws, and by the most steady attachment and loyalty to your person and government."

The Commons agreed to a Second Address of Thanks for the gracious manner in which the First was received by his Majesty, and took this resolution before the usual business at the beginning of every session came on, proceeding to take the
speech

Speech from the throne into immediate consideration. They next went upon the matter of his Majesty's revenue, and granted for the support of his household and dignity of the crown, during life, the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds yearly, to commence from the death of his late Majesty. They added to this revenue several yearly sums which were payable to his grandfather during life. Seventy thousand men were voted for the sea service of the ensuing year, and sixty-five thousand land forces. The money granted for supporting these and other contingent expences for the service of 1761, with the foreign subsidies, and one million extraordinary for expences incurred or to be incurred, swelled the supplies to nineteen millions, six hundred, and sixteen thousand pounds, and upwards.

(1761.)

THE accession of a new sovereign to the throne of Great Britain is usually distinguished by acts of grace in favour of imprisoned debtors and state criminals. Accordingly petitions were presented to the house of commons from debtors confined in the goals both of the capital and other parts of the kingdom; giving melancholly accounts of their miserable condition and soliciting relief. The crown prisoners were overlooked; but the cries of such a number of debtors occasioned a bill to be brought into the house of commons in their favour, which soon after passed into a law. There was a clause in it which was intended for the benefit of the creditors, importing, that whereas many persons choose rather to continue in prison, and spend their substance there, than honesty to deliver up their effects for the use of their creditors; the creditor may in such cases compel any prisoner committed, or hereafter to be committed, into custody for debt, to appear at the quarter sessions with a copy of his or her detainer, and deliver in upon oath a just account of their effects; that a prisoner, on subscribing this account and discovering his or her effects, shall be discharged by this act; but on refusal to give an account, or concealing to the value of twenty pounds, the person should suffer as a felon.

This is that much-abused compulsive clause, which by the assistance of low chicanery was made to operate so contrary to the original intention of the act. Great numbers of people, in the middle and lower classes of life, and some who had been in higher stations, laid hold of the opportunity to cancel debts, which

which they would have been enabled to discharge, if indulged with liberty, they had been industrious and frugal for the future. But on the contrary, the persons intending to reap benefit from this clause, prevailed on some relation or friend to arrest them, and perform the part of a compelling creditor. The prisons were soon crowded with successive numbers of wretches, without remorse, laying hold of this indulgence to cheat their creditors, who appeared with the utmost effrontery at the quarter sessions to give in and subscribe collusive accounts of their effects, and get themselves *white-washed*, as it was vulgarly termed. To such villainous uses may a good law be prostituted; hence appears the necessity of frequently amending or repealing acts of the legislature; and this was so remarkable a one we could not let it pass unnoticed.

The situation of the French, at the beginning of the campaign this year, was extremely advantageous for them; and consequently very bad for the allied army. The former enjoyed the entire possession of the territory of Hesse; they had also added to the strength of several places in it, by some new works, and had amassed very great magazines in such parts as were most convenient for them. They had, on their left, driven the allies from the Rhine, whose quarters they streightened, and prevented all efforts on that side, by the great number of troops that they kept there. Gottingen, on their right, was also in their possession, in which they had taken care to have a very strong garrison. Thus were the allies also shut up in this quarter; and his majesty's German territories entirely exposed to the designs of the enemy.

The greater these difficulties were with respect to the allies, the more necessary it was to attempt a removal of them; prince Ferdinand, therefore, determined to march and attack the French posts. But this seemed to be a very hazardous attempt; for, besides the advantages of the enemy, already mentioned, they were masters of all the proper communications necessary for their subsistence, with strong places in their rear, and in both their flanks. But prince Ferdinand, being determined to act with vigour, settled the places of rendezvous, one on the Dymel, another on the Rhine, and a third in Sauerland. He himself, the same day, February 9th, went to Giefmar, where lieutenant-general Gilfac had marched, with the corps, according to his orders. The next day the troops halted, and the dispositions for the march of the whole were communicated to the generals. On the 11th, the army marched off in four columns; his serene highness led the center; it penetrated directly into Hesse, and marching by Zierenberg,

berg, and Durenberg, made its way towards Cassel. Tho' the right and left of the army were each at a considerable distance from this body, yet they were so disposed, as fully to co-operate in the general plan of this very extensive operation. The hereditary prince, who commanded on the right, marched by Stadbergen, for Mengerlinghausen; and, left the country of Hesse to the eastward. As the alarm was to be as sudden, and as widely diffused as possible, he pushed forward with the utmost expedition into the heart of the French quarters. At a greater distance to the left, general Sporken, with his corps, penetrated into Thuringia, by Daderstadt, and Heiligenstadt. This movement was designed to break the communication of the French with the army of the empire, to procure a communication with the Prussians, and to cut off all intercourse between the enemy's grand army and their garrison at Gottingen. The French, by this sudden, extensive, and vigorous attack, were thrown into the utmost consternation, and fled on every side.

The vanguards or piquets, of the four columns, being re-joined and augmented with some cavalry, the brave marquis of Granby was appointed to command that corps, and fixed it at Ehlen, from whence he sent detachments to the cascade and to Weissenstein. The hereditary prince cantoned his corps about Zuschen. Receiving advice that the garrison of Fritzlar was not prepared for an attack, he went thither with a few battalions, in hopes of being able to carry that place at once. He attacked it with great spirit; but the enemy defended it resolutely, taking all the advantages their situation afforded them. And now the prince found that he had been misinformed; he therefore thought it advisable to desist from the attempt, and to wait for the arrival of some cannon to reduce it. The army cantoned on the 13th, in the neighbourhood of Niedenstein. The marquis of Granby led his corps to Kirchberg and Metze. Lieutenant-general Gilsac remained in his former position. The hereditary prince cantoned his troops about Hademar, not far from Fritzlar. Lieutenant-general Breidenbach took possession of a magazine of forty thousand rations at Rosenthal, and advanced towards Marpurg. He made an attempt upon that town; but, as the enemy were upon their guard, it did not succeed; and the general himself was killed in the attack. General Okeim succeeded to the command. However these two severe checks at the beginning of their enterprize did not intimidate them; they were only more cautious and more expeditious.

The

The army halted on the 14th; when the hereditary prince detached major-general Zastrow to Feltzberg, and ordered the cavalry to pass the Eder. Cannon and mortars being now brought before Fritzlar, and some bombs thrown into the town, colonel de Narbonne offered to capitulate, if honourable terms were allowed him. He was answered, that, in consideration of his brave defence, such should be granted him; but the garrison should not serve during the present campaign, and that the battalions of Waldeck and Wildungen should be included in the capitulation. But the commandant refusing to submit to this condition, a brisk cannonade was begun again, and continued for half an hour, after which the terms were accepted, and the place surrendered; but the commandant having declared he had no command over the two garrisons above-mentioned, that demand was dropped. A magazine was found at Fritzlar.

At this time the allies had driven the French every-where before them, for the space of about forty miles, leaving Göttingen, Cassel, Waldeck, and some places of less note behind them; being persuaded, that when the main army was driven back, those garrisons would fall of course. With this view, the allies resumed their march, on February the 17th, covering from their right to left, a country, of more than seventy miles in extent, and driving all before them; where-ever they approached, the enemy fled, setting fire to their magazines, and abandoning their provisions, insomuch that the allies found plenty for their subsistence in every town thorough which they had occasion to pass. At Melsungen, a post about fifteen miles from Cassel, prince Ferdinand found a considerable magazine of meal and forage.

At Over-Weimer, near Marbourg, the enemy made a shew of standing their ground; but m. d'Oheim, on the 18th, put himself in motion, and having defeated their advanced guard, m. de Mopeau, who commanded their main body, gave way, and the allies having halted a day or two, to refresh their troops, continued their pursuit. In the night between the 19th and 20th, m. Broglie abandoned Hirschfeldt, after setting fire to the grand magazine that had been established there for the assistance of the troops. This magazine, which had consisted of eighty thousand sacks of meal, fifty thousand sacks of oats, and a million of rations of hay, was most of it saved by the allies, who entered the town almost as soon as it was quitted by the French.

In the mean time, the marquis of Granby was successfully employed in reducing the castles and fortresses in the neighbourhood,

bourhood, particularly Guderberg, in which was a garrison of two hundred men. Here he found some provisions and forage.

The allied army resolutely advanced, and the French continually retired; and abandoning post after post, fell back almost to the Mayne. In their retreat, they set fire to their own magazines; but the allies pursued them with so much rapidity, that they saved five capital stores; one of which contained no less than eight thousand sacks of meal, fifty thousand sacks of oats, and a million of rations of hay; a very small part of which had been destroyed. This proved a very great help to the allied army in its progress; but Cassel still remained to be reduced. In this town the French had a garrison of seventeen battalions, besides some other corps, commanded by count Broglie; the enemy not only confided in these, but also in the severity of the season. The siege of this place was of too much importance to be delayed; as soon therefore as marshal Broglie had been driven out of Hesse, and had retreated towards Franckfort, prince Ferdinand made a stop. As Marburg and Ziegenhayn still held out, the prince ordered them to be blockaded. He then formed that part of his army which was with him into a chain of cantonments. His front was towards the enemy, stretching from the river Lahn to the river Ohm, and from the latter to the Fulda. By this means, he was enabled, not only to watch the motions of marshal Broglie's army, but also to cover the siege of Cassel; and the two blockades of Marburg and Ziegenhayn.

The trenches were opened before Cassel the 1st of March, under the direction of the count of Lippe Schaumberg, a sovereign prince of the empire, and a very great engineer; from whose successful management of the artillery at Thornhausen, much was now expected. On the 7th, the French made a sally, took possession of the trenches, carried off four mortars, nailed up one piece of cannon, and destroyed the works of the grand battery; but at length they were forced back into the town. They afterwards made two unsuccessful sallies, suffering considerably in both. The garrison of Gottingen also made a motion, and attacking Duderstadt, where the allies had a post, forced it, and made the garrison prisoners. The garrison of Waldeck also made a successful attack on a party of the allies that were patrolling in the neighbourhood of that city; for captain Willenius, who commanded the party, having the misfortune to be dangerously wounded in the first onset, the advantage was on the side of the enemy, who

who took thirty horses and two waggons belonging to the convoy.

Major-general Schluter, in order to straiten the fortress of Ziegenhayn, formed the design, on the third instant, of getting possession of the suburbs. Though he succeeded with very little loss, yet m. de Zuementel, who commanded in the town, regardless of the houses, fired against them with great fury, and obliged the general to retire, with his troops, into his old quarters.

Whilst these matters were carrying on, m. Sporken, who commanded the detachment of the allied army to the left, advanced, with an intrepidity equal to the rest, on the side of Saxony. He was soon joined by a body of Prussians, and the united army lost no time to clear the Werra and the Unstrut, of the bodies of French and Saxons, which occupied the most important post upon these rivers. As the enemy was advantageously posted, and could be supported on one side by the garrison of Gottingen, and on the other, as they promised themselves, by the army of the empire, they maintained their ground, and a sharp action soon ensued. The allies attacked a large body, February 14, advantageously posted, at Langensaltze, upon the Unstrut, with great success. The Prussians took three whole battalions of Saxons, and seven pieces of cannon. General Sporken took two battalions and six pieces of cannon. The whole loss of the enemy was computed at five thousand; but that of Sporken's at little more than one hundred.

The following day they continued pursuing the enemy, driving them every-where before them, killing many, and making many prisoners. The army of the empire, which was in the neighbourhood of Gotha when general Sporken attacked the enemy at Langensaltze, made a precipitate retreat; at Eysenach a very large magazine was found; general Luckner, on the 24th, took three hundred prisoners at Fulda and the neighbouring villages, in most of which the enemy left their forage behind them. Sporken had divided his corps into two columns, one commanded by count Kielmansegge, and the other by lieutenant general Wagenheim; major Luckner commanded the advanced guard. Kielmansegge's corps pressed forward with such rapidity, that he soon came in sight of a body of troops, commanded by marshal Broglie in person; but being too weak, did not attack it. General Luckner having still made greater haste, possessed himself of Affschaffenbourg, and, on the next night, March the 7th, threw a bridge over the Mayne, at Selligenstadt. Hitherto almost every thing had succeeded, according to the wishes of the allies; but things now began to take a different turn.

At the same time that this division was pursuing the enemy to the left, the prince, and the marquis of Granby, were moving with greater caution in the center. The forts and castles that were not tenable, were deserted one after another. Marshal Broglie, with the main body, continued his march, with the utmost precipitation, till he arrived at Bergen, within a few miles of Franckfort. Here the marshal began to fortify himself, and here he made a stand till the reinforcements arrived from the Lower Rhine, to enable him to make head against the allies, and either to give them battle, or recover the ground he had lost.

On the 20th of March, the several divisions of the allied army joined. The main body had its position on the heights of Homberg; the head-quarters were at Schwansberg; the marquis of Granby at Kirchayn; general Hardenberg behind Redechen; and the hereditary prince formed the van, in the neighbourhood of Grunberg, almost in sight of the enemy. Marshal Broglie, at the same time, occupied the country along the Rhine, from Gladenbach to Allendorf.

The reinforcement that the marshal received from the Lower Rhine, consisted of 12,000 French troops. This at once put a stop to the career of the allies, and enabled marshal Broglie, not only to make a stand, but to advance and drive, in his turn, his pursuers before him. Prince Ferdinand had now three strong posts of the enemy in his rear, and their grand army perfectly united on his front; he was therefore obliged to call in Sporken's body. The Prince contracted his operations; and caused a field of battle to be marked out, near Homberg, to which the troops were ordered to repair on the first notice. But the want of subsistence, in a place already exhausted both by friends and foes, would admit of no delay, and it became absolutely necessary either to march forwards to meet the enemy, or to fall back, and relinquish all the advantages which had been acquired, by a desperate, and well-concerted enterprize. A retreat was determined on; in which the hereditary prince, who covered the rear, was attacked by a superior number of the enemy, near the village of Strongerode, in the neighbourhood of Grunberg, and the corps under his command broken and dispersed. The attack was made by the enemy's dragoons, the first shock of which broke the whole foot, consisting of nine regiments of Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers. The French in this action made three thousand prisoners, and possessed themselves of several trophies of victory. However, few were killed or wounded on either side, Prince Ferdinand himself owed his escape to the intrepid behaviour

behaviour of two of his officers. The sieges of Cassel, Gottingen, and Ziegenhayn, that had been successfully begun, were now raised. Town after town was relinquished, many were killed, many made prisoners, and not a few perished thro' want and fatigue.

In the city of Marbourg, when the allies quitted it, a pound of bread was not to be purchased for money. In this disgraceful manner were the allies expelled Hesse, and forced to take refuge in Westphalia, where the want of magazines, and the natural poverty of the country, would not permit the French to pursue them. Thus the two armies being separated, both found it necessary to go into winter quarters of cantonment, as well to refresh the troops, as to procure subsistence. The places adjacent to the two armies, were filled with the sick and wounded; of whom many more died than recovered, for want of proper accommodations. Upwards of 2000 horses died in the allied army in a fortnight; the enemy's army also shared in the same misfortunes.

However, the French having lost so many magazines were unable, for a long time, to reap any advantage from their successes in the preceding campaign, or from their late victory. The greatest part of the month of June elapsed, before they found themselves in a condition to act.

However, in the mean time, a few skirmishes happened. Towards the latter end of April, a detachment of three thousand men, from the garrison of Gottingen, attacked a battalion of the British legion, in the village of Feldhaven, near Uslar, and made one hundred prisoners; but were afterwards dislodged from that post by the Hanoverians. The first week in May, general Luckner, with an hundred hussars, came up with three hundred horse of the garrison of Gottingen, entirely routed them, made one officer and thirty troopers prisoners, and took sixty horses. The same day, May the 5th, captain Brinsky attacked them on their return, with 100 hussars, and fifty Brunswick cavalry, drove them before him into Gottingen, and made three officers and fifty-three dragoons prisoners. The vicomte de Belsunce, their commander, narrowly escaped being taken in the pursuit. The village of Spielen, beyond the Fulda, was taken by captain Riedesel, with an hundred of the Brunswick hussars, and the garrison, consisting of fifty men, were killed, or made prisoners. In this action the allies sustained very little loss. In the same month, one hundred horse of the allied army took, near Nordheim, a French lieutenant-colonel, thirty-four dragoons, and forty horse; m. de Belsunce himself narrowly escaped being taken
pri-

prisoner. In the middle of June, general Luckner took eighty-four oxen under the walls of Gottingen, forced the garrison back, killed and wounded an hundred men, and took prisoners fourteen private men, and one captain. The next day, m. Sheiter crossed the Rhine, with only thirty-six horse; and, in the space of ninety-three hours, set fire to the French magazines at Xanten, and other places, and plundered a great quantity of baggage. The magazines which he destroyed, amounted to one million, six hundred thirty-five thousand rations of hay and straw, near six thousand sacks, and several thousand rations of oats. About the same time, the French took two hundred and forty-five prisoners at Luhnien and Kamen, and two pieces of cannon.

But now some more considerable actions began to take place; as the French had taken proper measures for their subsistence, the prince of Soubise caused his troops to pass the Rhine, and to advance on the side of Munster; not far from which city, the hereditary prince of Brunswick was posted to oppose him. Marshal Broglio assembled the forces under his command, at Cassel, and moved towards the Dymel, in order to effect a junction with the body under the prince of Soubise. General Sporken, who was with a strong detachment, advantageously posted on the Dymel, in front of the allied army, on the approach of marshal Broglio, quitted his situation, and attempted to retire, being inferior to the enemy in number. But the French, who were too quick for him, overtook and attacked his rear, June the 19th. The general was soon routed; the enemy made eight hundred prisoners, took nineteen pieces of cannon, four hundred horses, and above an hundred and seventy wag-gons. The French passed the Dymel the same day. Prince Ferdinand being discouraged by this misfortune, fell back to the Lippe; and thus gave the enemy an opportunity to possess themselves of Warburg, Dringelburg, and Paderborn.

About a fortnight after, a body of French troops, under the command of m. Chabot, intending to surprise m. de Luckner, near Samle, was attacked and defeated by that general; when one hundred and fifty men were made prisoners, and two hundred horses taken. The day after, captains Kampen and Engel, captain-lieutenant Sanders and lieutenant Muller, with two hundred and twenty horse, in different detachments, burnt upwards of thirty carriages of bacon and provisions, destroyed, or gave away, a prodigious quantity of bread and meal, took seven hundred horses and ruined two thousand more, and, in their return to the allied army, made two hundred and fifty men of the enemy's troops prisoners.

Prince

Prince Ferdinand continued some time posted to the south of the Lippe, between Ham and Lipstadt, that he might get between the prince of Soubise, and the Rhine, as marshal Broglie had, by occupying the places on the Dymel, got between him and Hanover. His view in this was, or at least seems to have been, that, in case the marshal made any attempt upon the electorate, he might fall upon the places the enemy occupied upon the Dymel, and so draw them back to their protection. At length, marshal Broglie, with a view to fall upon the allied army, made a junction with Soubise, at Soest, a place between Lipstadt and Ham. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, in order to strengthen his situation, established his left wing on the isthmus between the rivers of the Lippe and the Aest; the left extremity of this wing, under general Wutgenau, by which it was perfectly secured, as the right was supported by the village of Kirch-Denkern, situated immediately on the Aest. In this wing the marquis of Granby commanded, assisted by lieutenant-general Howard, and the prince of Anhalt, who were posted towards the village. Behind the little river was placed the center, on a considerable eminence, commanded by general Conway. On the same eminence, the right wing, under the hereditary prince, extended towards the village of Werle, well defended on the flank by rugged, bushy, and almost impassable ground. The greatest part of the artillery was placed in the left wing, by the direction of the count of Lippe, as was also the strength and flower of the army, as being most exposed to the attack of the enemy; an event which prince Ferdinand wisely foresaw; and which happened as follows:

“ Marshal Broglie decamped on the 15th of July, at break of day, from Erwitte, and attacked lord Granby's camp in the evening, with great briskness. His lordship sustained the efforts of the enemy with resolution and success, till the arrival of lieutenant-general Wutgenau, who had received orders to march to his support. The French being now taken in flank, they could no longer withstand the firmness of these generals, with whom prince Ferdinand was in person, but were driven back into the woods, after a fire of artillery and small arms, which lasted till late in the night. The action was renewed at three the next morning, and continued till nine. M. Wutgenau's corps, against which the French made redoubled attacks, maintained its ground with intrepidity. At last m. Broglie appeared to have a design of planting some batteries upon an eminence opposite to lord Granby's camp, which

which was not enclosed within the lines. To prevent the bad consequence of such a design, prince Ferdinand ordered the nearest troops to advance upon the enemy, which they did with such courage, that the French soon gave way, and retreated precipitately, abandoning their dead and wounded. Maxwell's battalion of grenadiers took the regiment of Rouge, consisting of four battalions, prisoners, with their colours. Upon the news of this defeat on the right, the left of the French army, under the prince de Soubise, which was opposite to the hereditary prince, desisted from the attack. Two hundred men, commanded by major Limburg, defended the village of Scheidengen, on that side, against all the attacks of the enemy."

The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was computed at about five thousand men; five pieces of cannon, and six pair of colours were taken. The brigades of the king, Auvergne, Belfunce and Nassau, suffered the most. The duke of Havre, and his son-in-law, the marquis of Cirrac; the marquis of Rouge, lieutenant-general, and his son, the colonel, were killed. Their loss, in officers, was very considerable. The place of battle was the field of Kirch-Denckern, near Hiltrup, and at no great distance from Ham. The allies had three hundred and eleven men killed, one thousand and eleven wounded, one hundred and ninety-two made prisoners, and three pieces of cannon taken. They kept their ground after this battle, whilst the French retreated, and both parties remained quiet for some time, except in some skirmishes, which proved in favour of the allies.

A great convoy of provisions was destroyed by colonel Freytag, between Cassel and Warbourg. The Brunswick hussars ruined two French magazines upon the Werra, and major-general Luckner, in his retreat from Neuhaus near Paderborn, the day after the battle of Kirch-Denckern, had a smart engagement with the enemy, and took one hundred and fifty men prisoners. Colonel Freytag, in a second expedition, July 19 and 20, destroyed a great quantity of ammunition and corn belonging to the French, on the Fulda and the Werra, without the loss of a man. And on the last day of July but one, general Luckner attacked marshal Broglio's rear-guard, at Lipsprinck, and destroyed the corps of volontaires de Broglio. In one of these skirmishes, July the 20th, young prince Henry of Brunswick was mortally wounded. In the beginning of August, prince Ferdinand attacked lieutenant-general Stainville, who had between sixteen and eighteen battalions, and as many squadrons under his command, and obliged him, after a warm dispute of three or four hours, to abandon

abandon the post of Stadtbergen. The day after, a detachment of hunters belonging to colonel Freytag's corps, attacked; and took, a convoy of two hundred and fifty waggons, going towards the Weser.

About the middle of August, general Luckner, having reached the heights near Dassel, with his corps, ordered his own regiment towards the right wing of the French, and colonel Freytag, with all the light horse, towards their left. The enemy under the command of m. Belfunce, drew back their forces towards the forest of Solling, having first detached a large body of horse and foot to the high road that leads to Eimbeck. Luckner's hussars immediately attacked and totally routed this body. General Luckner himself, in front, attacked the French, whilst they were drawn up in order of battle; upon which they quickly retired; and advanced nearer to the forest of Solling. Colonel Freytag obliged their light horse to disperse themselves in the forest; whither they were presently followed by general Luckner. In the Solling they met with a warm reception from lieutenant-colonel de Stockhausen, who had previously posted himself there, with his hunters, and defeated them. In their retreat thither, they were successfully harraided by the Brunswick hussars, who had pursued them. In these different attacks, the French lost three pair of colours, had eight hundred of their horses taken; besides forty-four officers, and seven hundred and fifty-nine private men, taken prisoners by the allies.

However, all the advantage was not on the side of the allies; for on the 18th of August, the castle of Waldeck surrendered to the French. And on the same day, the marquis de Conflans attacked the rear-guard of a detachment of the allied army, in it's march from Munster to the lower Embs, and made some prisoners, took the tents belonging to Scheiter's cavalry, and thirty baggage-waggons.

Prince Soubise still persisted in the design he had formed to besiege Munster, notwithstanding the obstacles he had met with. He therefore began to make the previous preparations at Dorsten. Upon this, the hereditary prince laid hold of the first opportunity to attack that place. This was accordingly done on the 30th of August, when the garrison, consisting of a battalion of French troops, and some piquets, commanded by m. Vierfet, made a brave defence, but they were obliged by the resolute attacks of the allies, to surrender prisoners of war. The Prince totally destroyed the ovens which were established there. By this means, the enemy were not only prevented from their design on Munster, but even forced to retire from the Lippe

for a time. The day after the French attacked the corps under the generals Luckner and Freytag, and colonel Stockhausen, and obliged them to abandon several posts in the defiles of the Hartz mountain.

The allies did not long retain their possession of Dorsten, for, on the 3d of September, four days after they had taken it, the vanguard of the prince of Soubise retook that place, made one hundred and eighty of the troops prisoners, and took one piece of cannon. On the 14th of the same month, a body of the French, consisting of eight or nine thousand, under the command of the marquis de Conflans, appeared unexpectedly before Embden, and, the burghers refusing to join in defending the place, the garrison consisting of two hundred English invalids, made an honourable capitulation for themselves, and embarked immediately for Bremen. The French, being now masters of the town, extorted contributions by every act of violence, insomuch that the country rose upon them, and drove them off; but in a few days they returned, and with greater fury than ever, plundered the inhabitants of every thing they could carry off; and what they could not remove, they broke and destroyed: Such were the miseries of war in that quarter!

On the 24th of the same month, a body of French appeared suddenly before Wolfenbüttele, having summoned the city, and received a refusal, they began to bombard the place, which so terrified the inhabitants, that many of them retired to Zell. In a few days after, Brunswick was formally invested by a body of the enemy. Osnabrug being unable to satisfy their exorbitant demands, was given up to be pillaged. The next month, the strong castle of Scharsfels, in the Hartz mountains, surrendered to the French, after a siege of eight days, who demolished its fortifications. Mippen capitulated to the prince of Conde, in which five hundred of the allies were made prisoners of war. Wolfenbüttele also surrendered to prince Xavier, of Saxony, after a siege of five days, who, after levying exorbitant contributions, quitted it, and returned to Seesen.

The French having thrown up intrenchments at the pass of Oelpher, for covering the siege of Brunswick, prince Ferdinand, with all the expedition in his power, dispatched the hereditary prince to its relief. General Luckner, having joined this prince by forced marches, arrived just in time, and attacked the French in the intrenchments, October 13, and in the end obliged prince Xavier, not only to raise the siege of Brunswick, but also to abandon Wolfenbüttele. Many of the enemy were killed; and one major-general, several officers, upwards of two hundred private men, and one piece of cannon, were taken.

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The allies were under no little concern for Bremen, as it had but a weak garrison, and was a place of great consequence to the enemy; for there were in it immense magazines, and it was advantageously situated on the Weser; so that if the French had got possession of that trading town, they would have had the command of the Weser, and have shut up the allies in a barren country, in the very center of Germany, deprived of every resource, and environed by their enemies. The French, encouraged by the success they had met with at Embden, through the timidity of the inhabitants, made an attempt upon it, but met with a very different reception from what they had found at Embden; for the inhabitants alarmed at their cruel behaviour in Embden, joined the garrison, and the enemy were forced to make a hasty retreat. But to prevent a second attack, a strong reinforcement was immediately thrown into Bremen.

Prince Ferdinand, the beginning of November, still kept the same position, at Ohr, upon the left of the Weser, the same that he had taken possession of after the battle of Kirch-Denkern, which he prudently and resolutely kept, in spite of the various motions, stratagems, and endeavours of the enemy, to force the post. His head quarters were at Buhne, and his army reached from thence towards Hammelen. By this situation, he kept possession of the course of the Weser, and thereby prevented the enemy from taking either Hammelen, or Minden.

Marshal Broglie's position upon the right of the Weser, was as follows; the Hartz was occupied by two thousand men; lieutenant-general Stainville was encamped at Seesen, with sixteen battalions; prince Xavier at Gandersheim, with nineteen battalions; m. Broglie with eight battalions, at Einbeck, which made the center; and general Chabot, with fifteen battalions, at Escherhausen. The rest of the infantry, with the cavalry, cantoned in the village behind the above camps. General Rochembeau was left at Cassel, with eight battalions, and the Irish brigade upon the Eder, in order to secure the communication with Hesse and Franconia.

As the French army was thus dispersed, prince Ferdinand formed a very judicious but unsuccessful plan, to prevent their collecting in a body; he purposed to surprize the count Chabot and his fifteen battalions, ordering general Luckner to march, so as to oppose m. Stainville's corps at Seesen, by the 5th of November, that he might intimidate him from marching, or, in case he did, pursue him. The hereditary prince's directions were to march on the 3d, in order to get

possession of the heights of Eimbeck, by the 5th. The brave marquis of Granby, who had also a share in this expedition, was directed to force the post of Cappelnhagen, and get to Wickenfen by the 5th, that he might block up the defile, which leads from Esckershausen to Eimbeck. The Marquis bravely entered upon his appointment, and, after a smart engagement, forced the post the enemy held at Cappelnhagen, and arrived, even at the hour appointed, on the 5th, at Wickenfen. These several bodies had been, for some time, upon the right of the Weser; those upon the left crossed the river; prince Ferdinand, with the main body, passed it on the 4th; as did lieutenant-general Conway, and general Scheele, on the same day. On the morning of the 5th they all joined at Halle. The method the Prince proposed to carry his design into execution, was to cut off the body of troops, under the command of the count de Chabot, encamped at Esckershausen; with this view, he, on the 5th, continued his march. The Count, apprehensive of the Prince's design, quitted his camp, and moved towards Wickenfen, that he might reach Eimbeck, and join marshal Broglio. But, as he was endeavouring to effect this junction, he met to his surprize the marquis of Granby, with his corps. He had now no other way of escape, but by turning to the right toward Stad-Odendorp; with this view he fell back upon the road to Esckershausen. However, had the whole plan of prince Ferdinand been happily executed, he would have been interrupted in his march, and must have been entirely routed; for lieutenant-general Hardenberg was to have passed the Weser, on the 4th at night, at Bodenwerder, in order to have reached Amelunxborn in the morning of the 5th; but unhappily, as he was on the way to Esckershausen, the pontoons, on which he was to have passed the river, overturned, and delayed him. In the interim the count de Chabot escaped to Eimbeck, by the way of Dassel, and getting there at noon, took his post upon the Huve. By this accident, the hereditary prince was also disappointed in his design upon Eimbeck; for he arrived opposite the Huve at two o'clock; and at four in the afternoon was joined by the marquis of Granby, and lieutenant-general Conway; a brisk cannonading was begun, which continued till night. But as circumstances were now changed, and the French marshal had time to collect a great number of troops, the hereditary prince thought it was not adviseable to attempt the passage of the Huve.

The same day at night, prince Ferdinand encamped at Esckershausen, where he was joined by general Hardenberg. The next

next day there happened some skirmishes on both sides, with different success. On the 7th, prince Ferdinand ordered the marquis of Granby to march from Weutzen to Foorwohle, and the hereditary prince to Ammensen. Marshal Broglio, considering this as a retreat, pursued the hereditary prince; but without attempting to attack him. The Marquis was likewise pursued by count Broglio, who attacked him, just as he was on the point of encamping, after a fatiguing march through snow and difficult roads, at Foorwohle, and drove in his out-posts. The noble marquis, not only made a brave resistance, but repulsed the enemy, and even drove them back to the Huve.

Prince Ferdinand judging it impracticable to attack the enemy in their present position, resolved to attempt getting round their left flank, that he might oblige them either to attack him, or abandon Eimbeck, and the country about it. Having therefore taken his measures on the 7th, and 8th, he, at three in the morning of the 9th, marched to the heights between Mackensen and Lithorst. The hereditary prince marched to replace lord Granby at Foorwohle; and general Luckner to occupy the hereditary prince's camp at Ammensen. But in the morning, before he could march to follow the army, lord Granby was again attacked upon his left; that generous and brave nobleman received the enemy with so much spirit and conduct, that he again repulsed them, and made them retreat with a considerable loss. In this action, major Fraser greatly distinguished himself.

The French marshal finding, by his detachments, which were driven off the heights of Lithorst, that prince Ferdinand had gained his flank, and was partly in his rear, having it at his choice either to risk an action, or retire, chose the latter. He accordingly quitted Eimbeck the 9th, in the night, and all the adjacent country. Before the marshal quitted these parts, he ordered the gates of Eimbeck, and the additional works to be blown up, by which general Werner was killed; and the marshal himself was very near being destroyed. Nothing further of any consequence happened between the two opposite armies for some time, the severity of the season, and other circumstances necessarily obliging both parties to remain inactive.

We shall now look back to the king of Prussia's operations in the course of this year. After the great victory that his majesty obtained at Torgau, a succession of important and interesting events might have been expected, but the campaign of 1761, was not distinguished by any decisive event, and it

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was even thought that the caution of marshal Daun had been adopted by his Prussian majesty.

The king lay strongly intrenched in Upper Silesia, near Schweidnitz; the fortresses in the lower part of the country were well secured with garrisons. Prince Henry, who commanded in Saxony, was divided into two strong bodies; that led by count Tottleben marched towards Pomerania; Buterlin, who commanded the other, entered into the Upper Silesia, advancing towards Breslau. On the opposite part to them, baron Laudohn entered the same province. These armies intended to unite, either to attack the king, or to take Breslau, or Schweidnitz. The whole country was over-spread by the Russians, who every-where raised heavy contributions; this was their position in the summer.

So early as January, count Tottleben entered Pomerania, with ten thousand Russians, and made himself master of Stetin and Burwalde. On the 2d of March, the Imperialists, to the amount of six battalions, and eight hundred horse, having, on the approach of the left wing of the allied army, changed their position, were followed by a body of the Prussians, under general Sybourg, and another corps, commanded by general Schenkendorf, who attacked them near Saalfeld. The Prussians planted their batteries to so much advantage, that the enemy, being attacked on all sides, were soon routed and dispersed. Many of them were killed in the pursuit, and eight hundred prisoners taken, among whom were one major, and nine other officers; besides four pair of colours, and a great quantity of baggage. Here Zeithen's hussars, under major Hundt, particularly distinguished themselves. As soon as the king of Prussia received the news of this success, he ordered the two generals abovementioned to march immediately with their troops, each having ten thousand men, to the assistance of the allies, who, at this time, had been obliged to post themselves behind the Dymel.

Marshal Daun had not as yet taken the field; but was now preparing for it with all diligence. In the mean time, the Prussians were successively filing off regiments towards Lusatia; having not less than one hundred between Meissen and Leipzick; and twenty-five thousand between Fribourgh and Thuringen; yet they were so cautious as to intrench themselves near Meissen and Fribourgh; and not only repaired the old, but also erected new works. In the following month, being April, a body of Imperialists, under general Guasco, near Plaven in the Voightland, were attacked by a detachment of Prussians, who defeated them, and took prisoners, one colonel, eight officers, and one hundred and fifty men, besides four pieces of
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of cannon, and all their baggage. But in this successful action, the Prussians had the mortification to lose the brave major Hundt, of Zeithen's hussars, one lieutenant, and thirty private men. In the course of the same month, the Prussians had their line that they had formed near Milbitz, forced, an hundred of the men killed, and forty made prisoners, by Reid, an Austrian general. But the next month, the Austrians suffered in their turn, for colonel Kleist advancing towards Fribourgh, the Austrians abandoned it, and the colonel took eighty-four men, and one hundred horses. The same colonel, a few days after, attacked a post of general Guaasco's troops at Schellenberg, and made three officers, and one hundred and eighteen men prisoners. This month, the king of Prussia took an Austrian magazine of meal, at Bautzen. Towards the end of the same month, a body of Prussians, on the Queifs, near Greiffenberg, were attacked by general Beck, and six hundred men were killed and wounded, and as many made prisoners, besides the loss of four pieces of cannon. About a month after, the Prussian flying camp near Schweidnitz, was surprized by two thousand Austrians, who took prisoners two hundred men, besides three hundred horse, and some other booty. About this time, an army of Russians, under general Tottleben, marched into Pomerania, and made a furious, but unsuccessful, attack upon Belgrade. In the mean time some Russian detachments appeared upon the frontiers of the New-Marche, and occupied Landberg, upon the Wartha; but these detachments being too weak, they were obliged to abandon their new acquisitions, and the country being totally ruined before, and affording but little plunder, they changed their rout, and marched to join their main body.

The Swedes, about this time, who had done little more this war than plunder the country they had occupied, began to renew their incursions. This obliged the few Prussian troops, who were appointed to oppose them, and restrain the Mecklenburgers, to fortify themselves in the best manner they could, to prevent a surprise; and to defend the poor inhabitants from further violences.

About the beginning of July, general Zeithen reconnoitred the Russian army, skirmished with an advanced post, killed two hundred men, and afterwards made good his retreat to his camp, at Storknest, in Poland. A little after, marshal Buterlin, having detached some regiments of hussars from his head-quarters, at Pristame, with a design to cut off the retreat of colonel Loffow, who had been reconnoitring the Russians, the latter fell upon them by surprize, killed twenty men, took

two officers, fourteen subalterns, two surgeons, and one hundred and six private men prisoners, besides an hundred horses; and dispersed the remainder of the troops. Two days after, colonel Belling, and lieutenant colonel Goltz, gained some advantage over the Swedes. The next day the Swedes took Demmin, and made a hundred of Hordt's battalion prisoners of war. The Prussian lieutenant-colonel Goltz lost one hundred men at Malchin; and at Domgarten, a lieutenant and twenty Prussian hussars were taken prisoners. The next day his Prussian majesty made a forced march, and attacked general Brentano's cavalry, near Munsterberg, taking possession of the camp which that General had the very same day marked out for the Austrians, under general Laudohn, and took one hundred and fifty-four prisoners.

On the 21st of July, general Laudohn, having received a reinforcement, began his march, in order to join the Russians, who had advanced so near Breslau, as to be within one day's march of it; but his Prussian majesty took such measures, as prevented their junction at this time; however, they effected this on the 25th of August following, thus. On the 1st of August, a detachment of Russians, with a large train of artillery, began to cannonade Breslau from seven batteries. But the governor Tauenzbin, marching out with seven battalions, under his command fell furiously upon the besiegers, and forced them to retire; but in their retreat they set fire to two villages. In order to be well prepared for another such visit, the fortifications of Breslau were put into a thorough repair, the place well garrisoned, and further covered with Knoblauche's troops.

Laudohn finding it impossible to execute his plan in the Upper Silesia, where his Prussian majesty, at this time, commanded, suddenly decamped, and, thinking to divide the Prussian forces, marched to the Lower Silesia. The king of Prussia, on the 3d of August, passed the Neisse, drove part of the Austrian army as far as Hoff, in Moravia, and made one hundred prisoners.

General Laudohn, at this time, made use of every stratagem to draw his Prussian majesty from his post, and to bring him to a disadvantageous action. At one time he seemed determined to join the Austrians; at another, to make an attempt upon Schweidnitz; but neither of these succeeding, he made as if he proposed to fall upon the Lower Silesia, and therefore made a movement, as mentioned above, in hopes that, at least, he might induce the king to divide his forces; but his majesty still kept his resolution to continue in the same situation.

situation. In the interim, the other grand division of the Russians marched unopposed, into Pomerania. As Tottleben, who was suspected, and even said to have been convicted, of having carried on a secret correspondence with his Prussian majesty, was now removed, and general Romanzow appointed to command in his stead; it was expected their operations would be vigorous.

The Czarina considering the siege of Colberg, as an object of the greatest importance, had sent a fleet of ships to convey artillery, ammunition and stores, and transports to carry forces; but some of them perished in the passage by bad weather; the rest were landed at Rugenwalde, and employed against the fortifications of Colberg. This strong town is the key to his Prussian majesty's dominions on the side of New March. And now it was blockaded by a fleet of forty sail, of all kinds; whilst the army of general Romanzow formed the siege by land. On the 19th of August, this General took possession of the town of Coslin, in Pomerania, near Colberg. A few days before, as thirty squadrons of Austrian cavalry, and ten battalions of grenadiers, were on their march to join the Russians at Finkenstein and Czelteritz, some Prussian regiments attacked them, took a great number of them prisoners, and so dispersed them, that only ten squadrons escaped to the place of their destination. General Knoblock took two regiments of Russian infantry prisoners, much about the same time.

As to Colberg, the king of Prussia was under such great apprehensions about it, that, though Laudohn and Butterlin found sufficient employment for his forces, he resolved to send general Platen, with a considerable body of troops, to the assistance of Colberg. General Platen had a further commission; this was to pass through Poland, and, if possible, destroy some magazines which the Russians had erected there; and by which their army in Silesia was wholly supported. The General so far succeeded, as to take three principal magazines; he also attacked and destroyed a large convoy of the enemy's waggons, destroyed five hundred, and burnt or destroyed the provisions they carried; though the convoy was guarded by five thousand men, the greater part of whom were either taken prisoners, or killed. The General afterwards hastened his march to Pomerania.

It was at this time that the Russians and Austrians effected their junction, which had been for some time retarded by the king of Prussia, as already related. But this excursion obliged them to separate again, and desist from their intentions upon Breslau, to repass the Oder, near Sleinau, on the 9th of September, and

make what haste they could into Poland, to save their remaining magazines; that they might not be totally deprived of their subsistence. Butterlin, who commanded that body, proposed to follow the next day; nor indeed had the junction of the Austrians and Russians during it's continuance, proved of any service to them; for the king still maintained his camp at Buntzelwiltz, between Striegau and Wurben, and made head against all the force of the enemy, in such a manner, that they did not dare to attack him, or form any new enterprize.

Skirmishes still fell out between the two parties. In the middle of September, general Platen destroyed several large magazines at Colbin and Gostin, and attacking five thousand waggons, at a convent near the latter place, defeated the convoy, consisting of four thousand men, killed a great number of them, and took two thousand prisoners, including brigadier-general Czerapow, three majors, and twenty inferior officers; besides taking five haubitzers, and two pieces of cannon. A few days after, general Romanzow attacked a redoubt which covered one of the flanks of the prince of Wurtemberg's camp, and carried it. Encouraged by this success, he made a second attack on the Prince's intrenchments; but was repulsed with the loss of near three thousand men, and of the redoubt he had taken the day before. The same month a body of Russians defeated general Werner, and took him prisoner, whilst he was endeavouring to rally the regiment of Wurtemberg, that had been thrown into disorder during the engagement. General Romanzow made another attempt upon the Prussian intrenchments before Colberg, but unsuccessfully.

The king of Prussia, on the retreat of Butterlin, thought he had greater freedom to act, and being in want of provisions in his camp, near Schwiednitz, ventured to draw near the Oder, that he might be the more easily supplied. He pitched his head quarters at Streihlin, fortified his camp in the plain of Canth, to preserve his communication with Breslau. He even ventured to draw four thousand men from the garrison of Schweidnitz. He thought, if the enemy should attempt to lay siege to the place, that the time the preparations for it would take up, would be sufficient for him to provide against it; being at so little distance. But general Laudohn, the Austrian general, who had all along carefully watched for a favourable opportunity to strike some important blow, immediately determined to take the opportunity of the king's absence, and attempt the reduction of the strong town of Schwiednitz, by a sudden effort.

Accordingly on the 1st of October, Laudohn began the assault at three in the morning. The Austrian troops observed so much precaution in their approach, that the garrison was not aware of them, till they scaled the four out-works, all at one time. This was executed with so much rapidity, that the besieged had hardly time to fire a few cannon. The assailants did not fire a gun; but in one of the out-works, the fire of the small-arms accidentally set fire to a powder magazine, which blew up, and destroyed three hundred Austrians, and as many Prussians. The out-works being carried, the Austrians prepared to assault the body of the place. They burst open the gates, and, after firing a few shot, got possession of the town. Lieutenant-general Zastrow, governor of the fortress, with three thousand seven hundred and seventy-one men, were made prisoners of war. One hundred and eighty-one pieces of cannon were found in the place, and a large magazine of meal. The Austrians lost, on this occasion, two hundred and seventy-nine men killed; besides one thousand and seven wounded, and one hundred and forty missing. The Russians who were concerned in the affair, had fifty-one men killed and forty-five wounded. Their grenadiers behaved remarkably well.

This was a heavy blow to the king of Prussia, of which he seemed to be extremely sensible. He foresaw the several hurtful consequences of it; that the Austrians would now winter in Silesia; and that, without leaving Breslau, and the whole of Upper Silesia, in the most imminent danger, he could make no motion in favour of any other part of his dominions. He was, at first, confounded at the news of this capital loss; but, recovering himself, said, with an air of pleasantry, "It is a fatal blow; we must endeavour to remedy it." He also seemed to entertain some doubts as to the governor, general Zastrow; but, at the same time, could not help reflecting that he had hitherto thoroughly approved himself as a faithful servant. However, he wrote to him in these terms. "We may now say, what Francis I. of France wrote to his mother, after the battle of Pavia; *We have lost all, except our honour*. As I cannot comprehend what hath happened to you, I shall suspend my judgment; the thing is very extraordinary."

After this affair, nothing very material happened for some time. The King continued his head quarters at Streihlin, and general Laudohn encamped at Freyberg. Both parties even thought they might safely send out detachments; the King sent twenty thousand to prince Henry in Saxony, and general

Laudohn sent as many to marshal Daun. The Swedish and Russian fleets were, by the badness of the weather, driven from before Colberg, and the Russian general Romanzow left to continue the siege wholly by land. During the absence of these fleets, Colberg happily received, by sea, a fresh supply of provisions and stores, which enabled the garrison to make that vigorous and obstinate defence which they afterwards did. But they were not so successful by land; for as a convoy of upwards of one thousand waggons, laden with stores, and guarded by a large body of troops, was making its way from Stetin to Colberg, it was attacked by the Russians, near Golnow, and forced to retire back to Dam, and two companies of general Platen's corps were surprized and taken; the General himself was obliged to retreat to Stargard. The next day, the Russian light troops having blown up eighty-five waggons loaded with bombs and gun-powder, and destroyed an hundred more filled with provisions and other stores, afterwards got possession of the town of Golnow, and burnt the suburbs; in this town they found forty thousand bombs and balls.

On the 21st of October, and the two preceding days, the Russians made several furious attacks upon Colberg, and likewise upon the prince of Wurtemberg's intrenchments; but to very little purpose. The main army of the Russians making a movement towards Treptow, the Prussian general Knoblock threw himself into that place. But the Russians detached from Colberg, lieutenant-general Romanzow, who attacked and took the town, and general Knoblock, with three battalions and a body of cavalry, four thousand in all, were made prisoners of war, with the loss of six Prussian colours and ten pieces of cannon. A few days after the Russians dislodged the Prussians from Stepnitz. Colonel Combiere, who commanded the van-guard of general Platen's troops, consisting of six thousand men, had penetrated as far as Golnow; but at the village of Sanglow he was surprized by the Russian general Berg, who took him prisoner, with thirty-six officers and one thousand men, besides taking six pieces of cannon. Four days after Berg made an attack upon general Platen himself, between Stargard and Pyritz; but now was defeated in his turn, with the loss of five hundred men killed and wounded.

The King of Prussia, at the beginning of the campaign, had detached prince Eugene of Wurtemberg, with twelve thousand men to cover Colberg. This prince caused very strong intrenchments to be made by general Thadden, an able engineer, which surrounded the town from the Baltic sea to the

the river Persante, and from thence to the other side. In these intrenchments the prince of Wurtemberg maintained his ground against the united force of the Russian and Swedish fleets, and a body of twenty-five thousand Russians, commanded by general Romanzow, which, during all the time, blocked up the town. The different assaults made from time to time by that General were always repelled with loss. At the latter end of September, general Platen, with ten thousand men from the King of Prussia arrived to the relief of Colberg. The prince of Wurtemberg beginning to want provisions Platen marched towards Stetin, in quest of the convoys which were ready at that place; but in his return back thither, was attacked by a large body of Russians, as already related, and obliged to retire to Stargard.

Thus the prince of Wurtemberg was left alone to cover Colberg, and tho' reduced to great straits, rejected with disdain the capitulation which was offered him on the 2d of November, by general Romanzow.

The advantages the Russians had gained over the generals Platen and Knoblock greatly animated their troops. Field-marshal count Butterlin quitted his quarters at the village of Sturgorth, near Colberg, on the 2d of November, and marched with the main body of his army towards Schiefelbien, and general Fermor towards Noremberg and Templebourg, having first sent a reinforcement to general Romanzow, who continued before Colberg. As to the prince of Wurtemberg, he, after revictualling Colberg, and reinforcing the garrison, being fearful lest his army, which had been unable to relieve the town, by continuing longer under its walls, should only share in its approaching unhappy fate, resolved, while his men were in their vigour, to make his way thro' a part of the Russian army, and leave Colberg to make the best terms it could. He accordingly forced his way and got to Grieffenberg, where he was joined by general Platen's troops, and marched immediately to the neighbourhood of Regenwalde, in order to annoy general Romanzow's rear, cut off his subsistence, and force him to raise the siege; but herein he was disappointed.

The siege of Colberg had now continued near six months, during which time it had been bravely defended by Heyde, the governor; but now its impending fate approached, and being straitened on all sides, it was likely to surrender without a blow. But this event was rather the consequence of famine, than of the valour of the assailants. The month before, general Romanzow took the fort of Munde, at the entrance of the river Persante, and thereby cut off all communication
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by water between Stetin and Colberg. On the first of this month a plan was laid for seizing the king of Prussia in the suburbs of Strehlin. "A Silesian gentleman, named Wargotsch, who had an estate near Strehlin, came often to the Prussian camp, where he was well received by the king of Prussia, and by his officers. He informed himself, with great exactness, of every thing that passed in the army; and particularly of the dispositions made of the troops in their quarters of cantonment; and, as the country thereabouts was well known to him, he formed a project of surprising his Prussian majesty, in the night of the 18th of December, which was to have been executed in this manner. A small body of resolute cavalry were to penetrate, in the night, into the suburbs of Strehlin, where his Prussian majesty lodged, to which they were immediately to set fire; and, during the confusion that this must necessarily occasion, to endeavour to seize and carry off the king of Prussia; which Wargotsch thought was very practicable, as the quarters were, at that time, but slightly guarded.

The whole affair is reported to have been accidentally discovered by one of Wargotsch's own servants, who had often been employed to carry letters to a popish priest, in a neighbouring village. These letters were directed to an Austrian lieutenant-colonel, and the priest had the care of transmitting them. The servant observing, when his master gave him the last letter, he was uncommonly anxious about the safe delivery of it, and appeared to be in great agitation of mind, began to suspect that he was employed in a dangerous service; however, he took the letter, and promised to deliver it as usual; but, instead of that, carried it directly to Strehlin, where he put it into the hands of m. de Crucemark, the adjutant general; he immediately sent out two small parties of dragoons, to seize Wargotsch and the priest, who were both made prisoners, but escaped afterwards."

In the beginning of December, the Russians took Minden, which covered Colberg towards the sea. The consequence of this loss was, that the entry of any Prussian vessel with provisions into Colberg, was now extremely dangerous and uncertain. Prince Wurtemberg indeed made an attempt to relieve the garrison, and to throw in stores and provisions; but failed in the enterprize.

On the 13th of December, general Romanzow attempted to take Colberg by storm, but failed. And now the town being reduced to the last extremity, the garrison exhausted, provisions low, the fortifications in many places battered to pieces,

pieces, the army that defended it, driven back, on which they depended as their last resource, no hope of supply, left by sea, or land, and no possibility of dislodging the enemy; colonel Heyde, the governor, sent out articles of capitulation to the Russians, on the 17th of December, which were immediately accepted. The brave garrison, consisting of seventy nine officers, and three thousand private men, were made prisoners of war. In the arsenal were found one hundred and forty-nine pieces of cannon; forty pair of colours, and four standards were taken. Colonel Heyde acquired great honour by his spirited defence of the fortress, during a siege which lasted upwards of five months. According to the Russian account, general Romanzow made three thousand prisoners in the course of the campaign, exclusive of five thousand deserters; tho' not without the loss of many of his own men during the time of the siege.

The Russians, in consequence of the reduction of this important place, got possession of the New Marche, part of Pomerania, and of all Prussia. In short, possessing Colberg, they possessed every thing. They were masters of the Baltic, and had now a post by which their armies could be well provided. The road lay almost open to Brandenburg; Stetin alone stood in their way. The Russians immediately began to repair the fortifications of Colberg; eighteen thousand of their troops occupied Stargard, and the right of the Oder, to the neighbourhood of Stetin, and for the first time, they wintered in Pomerania.

After the reduction of Colberg, the Prussian general Platen took the route of Berlin, in his way to join prince Henry in Saxony; and the prince of Wurtemberg filed off to the duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin. Prince Henry established his headquarters at Hoff; as did the prince of Wurtemberg at Rostock; those of colonel Belling were at Gastrow; and all parties now took up their winter quarters; where for the present we shall leave them.

Nothing of moment was done this year where the war might be truly called English; in fact, the French had neither a fleet nor settlements left worth our notice; and the noble ardour of our seamen was in danger of cooling, by vast preparations which were formidable enough, but wanted an object; while the weakness of some, and the ambition of others, began to indicate that the old leaven of parties was again fermenting. However some Captains of our Cruizers distinguished themselves on their stations.

The beginning of this year opened with two actions of this kind. Capt. Hunt, in his Majesty's ship the Unicorn, of twenty-eight guns, and two hundred men, being cruizing off the Penmarks, discovered at eight o'clock in the morning, of January 8, a sail to the northward, to which he gave chase; and found it to be the Vestal, a French frigate, commanded by m. Boibertelot, mounting twenty-six twelve and nine pounders upon her quarter-deck and fore-castle, with two hundred and twenty men. At half an hour past ten the Unicorn came up with, and began to engage her, and continued in close action two hours, when the enemy struck. Capt. Hunt, and the French captain, were both mortally wounded; Capt. Hunt received a gun-shot wound in his right thigh, when lieutenant Symons took the command, and fought the enemy with great courage and conduct during the remainder of the engagement; for which he was rewarded with the command of the Mortar sloop. The Unicorn, notwithstanding the length and sharpness of the engagement, had only five men killed, six dangerously, and four slightly, wounded; but the Vestal had many more killed and wounded. Two days after, Capt. James Smith, of the Seahorse, only twenty guns, and one hundred and sixty men, engaged at the distance of thirty-four leagues S. W. from the Start, the Opale, a French frigate, of thirty-six guns, and three hundred and sixty men, commanded by the marquis d' Ars; when after a warm engagement of an hour and a quarter, in which the ships were board and board three different times, the enemy seeing the Unicorn coming up, left the Seahorse and made all the haste she could from her. The Opale had her captain killed, and one hundred and fifty of her men killed or wounded. Eleven only of the Seahorse were killed, and thirty-eight wounded, but many of them very dangerously, Capt. Smith was afterwards detained at home, that his bravery might be rewarded with the command of a larger ship. In the course of the same month, the 23d at day-light, Captain Alexander Hood, in the Minerva, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, saw, and gave chase to, a large ship, which afterwards proved to be the Warwick, formerly belonging to us. She had thirty-four guns, but pierced for sixty, having on board two hundred and ninety-five men, seventy-four of whom were king's troops, with two other officers, and four passengers, that were bound to the isle of France and Bourbon, with provisions, ammunition, and stores. At twenty minutes after ten in the morning, with a brisk easterly wind or gale, and a great sea, Capt. Hood began a close engagement with her.

At eleven her main and fore-top-mast went away; and soon after she came close to the starboard-bow of the Minerva, and then fell along side; but the sea soon made a separation, when the enemy fell a-stern. About a quarter after eleven the Minerva's bowsprit went away. These unfortunate accidents made capt. Hood almost despair of being able to attack the enemy again. However, determined to do his utmost, he ordered the entangled bowsprit to be cut away as soon as possible; and about one o'clock cleared the ship of it by the loss of one man, and the sheet anchor. He then brought round the ship, and stood for the enemy, who was then about three leagues to the leeward of him. At four o'clock he came up close to the enemy, and renewed the attack. About a quarter before five she struck, and the captain immediately got possession of her. The enemy had fourteen killed, and thirty-two wounded. On board the Minerva, the boatswain and thirteen other men were killed; and the gunner and thirty-three wounded; the latter and two seamen died on the 27th following.

Captain Nightingale, in the Vengeance, of twenty-eight guns, nine and four pounders, on the 23d of March, took two prizes; one named the Entreprenant, pierced for forty-four, but carrying only twenty-six guns, twelve and six pounders, with two hundred and three men, being equipt for war and merchandize, and loaded with various goods for St. Domingo. The other a small privateer, four carriage and four swivel guns, with forty-five men. Capt. Nightingale fell in with them off the Lizard on the 23d; and at five in the afternoon began the attack, which lasted for three quarters of an hour; during which time the Vengeance was five times on fire; twice, as was supposed, from the enemy's wads setting fire to the main rigging. The Vengeance's rigging and sails, by these accidents, being so much shattered, the enemy run his bowsprit over her, and offered for boarding, but was prevented; and the Vengeance sheered off to repair her rigging and sails. As soon as the ship was in condition, Capt. Nightingale got up again close to the enemy, and the engagement was renewed for an hour, when the Frenchman sheered off, and bore away. The Vengeance, being a second time disabled in her masts and rigging, was some time in wearing. But at length she came round, and getting again within pistol-shot of the enemy, renewed the engagement, which continued for an hour and a half, when the enemy called for quarter. There were fifteen men killed, and twenty-four wounded, on board the Entreprenant. The Vengeance had six killed, and twenty-seven wounded, most of them dangerously; two

of whom afterwards died. The Captain brought his two prizes to Plymouth the 27th of the same month.

In April another French frigate, called the Comete, of two and thirty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, just sailed from Brest, was taken to the westward of Ushant by the Bedford, an English ship of the line, commanded by capt. Deane, who conveyed her in safety to Plymouth. About the same period and near the same place, a fourth frigate of the enemy, called the Pheasant, manned with one hundred and twenty-five mariners, was engaged, taken, and brought to Spithead, by captain Brograve, commander of the Albany sloop, whose victory was the cheaper, as the crew of the Pheasant had thrown fourteen of their guns overboard during the chase. In the course of the same month a large East-India ship, fitted out from France, with twenty-eight guns, and three hundred and fifty men, fell in with the Hero and Venus, commanded by the captains Fortescue and Harrison, and, being taken without opposition, was carried into Plymouth.

The cruizers belonging to the Squadron commanded by vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean, were distinguished by the same spirit of enterprize and activity. In the beginning of this very month the Oriflame, a French ship of forty guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was descried by the Isis, under the command of captain Wheeler, who came up with her at six in the evening, and a running fight was maintained until half an hour after ten. Captain Wheeler being unfortunately killed in the beginning of the action, the command devolved to lieutenant Cunningham, who perceiving the enemy's design was to reach, if possible, the Spanish shore, boarded her without further hesitation; and in a little time, her commander submitting, she was brought into Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to forty-five, out of a complement of three hundred and seventy; the loss of the Isis did not exceed four killed and nine wounded. In July another exploit was performed by a small detachment from the Squadron commanded by the same admiral. Captain Proby, in the Thunderer, together with the Modeste, Thetis, and Favourite sloop, being ordered to cruize upon the coast of Spain, with a view to intercept the Achilles and Bouffon, two French ships of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz; they at length ventured to come forth, and on the sixteenth day of the month were descried by the British cruizers. About midnight the Thunderer came up with the Achilles, which struck, after a warm engagement of half an hour: Yet, in this short action, captain Proby had near forty men killed and above
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one hundred wounded, he himself having sustained a slight hurt in the right arm. About seven in the same morning the *Thetis* engaged the *Bouffon*, and the fire was maintained on both sides with great vivacity for half an hour, when the *Modeste* ranging up, and firing a few guns, the French captain submitted. His ship and her consort suffered considerably, both in their crews and rigging; nevertheless, the victors carried them safely into the bay of Gibraltar.

One of the most remarkable and shining actions that distinguished this war, and proved, beyond all contradiction, the superiority which the English claimed over the French in point of naval discipline, was an incident which we shall now relate. On Monday the 10th of August, captain Faulkner of the *Bellona*, a ship of the line, and captain Logie of the *Brilliant*, a frigate of thirty guns, sailed from the river *Tagus* for England, having on board a considerable sum of money for the merchants of London. On Thursday in the afternoon, being then off *Vigo*, they discovered three sail of ships standing in for the land, one of the line of battle and two frigates. They no sooner descried captain Faulkner than they bore down upon him, until within the distance of seven miles, when, seeing the *Bellona* and the frigate thro' the magnifying medium of a hazy atmosphere, they mistook them both for two decked ships, and dreading the issue of an engagement, resolved to avoid the encounter. For this purpose they suddenly wore round, filled all their sails, and crowded away. Captain Faulkner being by this time convinced of their size, and conjecturing from the intelligence he had received, that the large ship was the *Courageux*, in which particular he was not mistaken, he hoisted all the canvas he could carry, and gave chase until sun-set, when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, he displayed a signal to the *Brilliant* to pursue in that direction, and his order was immediately obeyed. They kept sight of the enemy during the whole night, and at sun-rise had gained but about two miles upon them in a chase of fourteen hours; so that the French commodore might have still avoided an engagement for the whole day, and enjoyed the chance of escaping in the darkness of the succeeding night; but he no longer declined the action. The air being perfectly serene, he now perceived that one of the English ships was a frigate, and the *Bellona* herself, which was one of the best constituted ships in the English navy, lay so flush in the water as to appear at a distance considerably smaller than she really was. The French commander, therefore, being a man of spirit, hoisted a red

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ensign on the mizzen shrouds, as a signal for his two frigates to close with and engage the *Brilliant*. At the same time he hauled down his studding sails, wore round, and stood for the *Bellona* under his topails; while captain Faulkner advanced towards her with an easy sail, and ordered his quarters to be manned. The sea was undulated by a gentle breeze, which facilitated the working of the ships, and at the same time permitted the full use of their heavy artillery. The two ships were equal in burthen, in number of guns and weight of metal. The crew on board the *Courageux* amounted to seven hundred men, able to stand to their quarters; and they were commanded by m. du Guy Lambert, an officer of approved valour and ability. The *Bellona*'s complement consisted of five hundred and fifty chosen men, accustomed to discipline, and inured to service. All the officers were gentlemen of known merit, and the commander had on many occasions distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct. The fire on both sides was suspended until they were within musket shot of each other, and then the engagement began with a dreadful discharge of fire-arms and artillery. In less than nine minutes all the *Bellona*'s braces, bowlings, shrouds, and rigging, were cut and shattered by the shot, and the mizzen-mast fell over the stern, with all the men on the round-top, who, nevertheless, saved their lives by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room. Captain Faulkner, apprehensive that the enemy would seize the opportunity of his being disabled, and endeavour to escape, gave orders for immediate boarding; an attempt which the position of the two ships soon rendered altogether impracticable. The *Courageux* was now falling athwart the fore-foot or bows of the *Bellona*, in which case the English ship must have been raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and most of the other ropes by which the *Bellona* could be worked, were already shot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the assistance of his master, made use of the studding sails with such dexterity, as to wear the ship quite round, and fall upon the opposite quarter of the *Courageux*. His presence of mind and activity in this critical situation, were not more admirable than the discipline and dispatch of his officers and men, who, perceiving this change in their position, flew to the guns on the other side, now opposed to the enemy, from whence they poured in a most terrible discharge, and maintained it without intermission or abatement. Every shot took place, and bore destruction along with it. The sides of the *Courageux* were shattered and torn by every successive broadside, and her decks were

were strewed with the carnage. About twenty minutes did the enemy sustain the havock made by this battery, so incessantly plied, and so fatally directed. At length it became so intolerable, that the French ensign was hauled down; the rage of battle ceased; the English mariners had left their quarters, and the officers congratulated each other on the success of the day. At this juncture a shot being unexpectedly fired from the lower tier of the *Courageux*, the British seamen ran to their quarters, and, without orders, poured out two broadsides upon the enemy, who now called for quarter, and an end was put to the engagement. The damage done to the rigging of the *Bellona* was considerable, but she suffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The case was very different with the *Courageux*, which now appeared like a wreck upon the water. Nothing was seen standing but her foremast and bowsprit; large breaches were made in her sides; her decks were torn up in several parts; many of her guns were dismounted; and her quarters were filled with the mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above two hundred and twenty were killed outright; and half that number was brought ashore wounded to Lisbon, to which place the prize was conveyed. Captain Faulkner was not more commendable for his gallantry in the action, than for the humanity and politeness with which he treated his prisoners, whose grateful acknowledgment, and unsolicited applause, constitute the fairest testimony that a man of honour can enjoy. Nor ought we to withhold our praise from captain Logie of the *Brilliant*, whose valour and dexterity, in a great measure, contributed to the success of his commodore. Perceiving it would be impossible for him to acquire any thing but laurels from two frigates, the least of which was of equal strength with the ship he commanded; he resolved to amuse them both, so as to hinder either from assisting the *Courageux*. He accordingly begun the action by engaging one of them, called *la Malicieuse*. The other coming up he withstood their joint efforts, so as to employ their whole fire, while the great ships were engaged, and even above half an hour after the *Courageux* had struck her colours. Finally, he obliged them both to sheer off, and to consult their safety in flight, after they had suffered considerably in their masts and rigging. Captain Faulkner returned to Lisbon with his prize, which had well nigh perished by accident, before he reached the Tagus. A cask of spirituous liquors catching fire near one of the magazines, the ship must have blown up, had she not been saved by the presence of mind

mind and resolution of mr. Male, the first lieutenant. Observing the flames already communicated to some combustibles that happened to be in the way, he leaped down the hatchway into the midst of them, and by his personal endeavours they were happily extinguished. The centinel, who had kindled the fire by admitting a candle too near the spirits, was burned to death; and twenty French prisoners hearing the alarm, leaped into the sea, where they perished. The two English captains joined in a liberal subscription with the British factory at Lisbon, for the relief of the wounded French prisoners, who, without this generous interposition, must have starved, as no provision for them was made by their own sovereign.

We mentioned at the latter end of 1760, an expedition, the object of which was then kept a secret; this was prepared with great diligence in England; it was supposed to be against the coast of France and Belleisle on the coast of Bretagne in particular; and indeed it proved so to be. But this fleet did not sail till the spring of 1761, March 29. The land forces were commanded by major-general Hodgson, and the fleet by the honourable commodore Keppel. This fleet came to anchor in the great road off Belleisle, on the 7th of April, about twelve o'clock. Soon after their arrival, the commodore and general took a view of the coast, and at their return agreed, that the port of St. Andro, near point Lockmaria, was the most likely place at which to attempt a descent. It was accordingly settled between them, that sir Thomas Stanhope, with some of the ships of war, and the transports, with Stuart's and Grey's battalions, and the marines on board, should make a feint at Sauzon, at the same time that a real attack should be made on St. Andro. But as it was late in the day, nothing more was done than giving orders to prepare for the embarkation of the troops early the next morning, in the flat-bottomed boats, as soon as the ships should have silenced a four-gun battery, which commanded the entrance of the bay. The next morning, being the 8th, and the wind N. by E. the boats were ready for the reception of the troops. The signal was made early in the morning for them to assemble at the rendezvous; and three ships, with two bomb vessels, were ordered to proceed round the point of Lockmaria, at the S. E. part of the island, and attack the fort and other works in the sandy bay, round the point beforementioned.

Captain Barrington, in the Achilles, got up first, and soon silenced the fire from the fort, and from the shore; he then, as directed, made the signal for his having done so; no time
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was now lost, the troops in the flat-bottomed boats were pushed to the landing with great briskness at three different places, near each other, by captain Barton, whom the admiral appointed to command the boats. But upon entering the bay, they found the enemy so strongly intrenched on each side of the hill, which was excessively steep, and the foot of it scarp'd away, so that it was impossible to get up to the breast-work. The enemy being strongly intrenched on the heights, and in the little fort, the troops soon met with such a repulse, that it became necessary, as well as prudent, to desist from the attempt for that time. They accordingly retired with the flat-bottomed boats, in which they were well covered by the ships and bombs.

One of these boats landed sixty of Erskine's grenadiers, who got up a very difficult place to the top of the hills, where they formed with great skill, but were immediately routed by a much more numerous body of the enemy, so that all attempts to succour them were ineffectual, any further than the boats bringing from the rocks about twenty of them.

In the mean time, sir Thomas Stanhope, with four ships of war, the battalions of Grey's and Stuart's, with five hundred marines in transports, were opposite Sauzon, at the northern part of the island. Here troops were embarked in the boats, if possible, to divert the enemy from the principal object. A gale of wind coming on very quick, after retiring from the shore, they received much damage among the transports, by loss of anchors and boats; twenty-two of the latter were lost. The loss of our troops on this occasion was, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, four hundred and thirty-four.

No wonder their first attempt failed, as the whole island is a fortification; and the little nature had left undone to make it such, was amply supplied by art; the enemy having been at work upon it ever since sir Edward Hawke appeared before it in the winter of 1760. At this time the reduction of it was feasible, without hazarding so much, had not the design been countermanded on the late king's death till the secret should be communicated to the new ministers.

However, this repulse neither disheartened the commanders nor the soldiers. They resolved not to give up their design; and therefore determined diligently to search the whole coast to find a place more favourable for a second attack. It was a considerable time before the weather afforded an opportunity to make another attempt. At last a convenient part was found on the coast, not indeed less strong than the rest; on the contrary, the commanders founded their hopes on the excessive steepness

steepness and difficulty of the rocks. For the admiral and general were of opinion, that to attempt the rocks where it was just possible, and where the enemy were not otherways prepared, from the impracticable appearance there was of troops landing there, would be the most likely means to succeed; while by making a disposition for the attack of their intrenched bays, and at Sauzon at the same time with the light horse, they might possibly gain a footing.

A rocky shore near the point of Lockmaria was pitched upon: Besides the principal attack, two feints were made at the same time to confound the enemy; whilst the men of war directed their fire with great judgment, and no less effect, on the hills. This gave brigadier-general Lambert an opportunity of climbing up a rock with a handful of men. The difficulty of mounting had made the enemy the less attentive to that part as had been concluded. Beauclerck's grenadiers, with their captain, Patterson, climbed a rock, and made good their landing, April 23, at five o'clock, before the enemy saw what was intended. Having gained the top of the rock, they formed in good order, and bravely opposed three hundred of the enemy who came upon them, till the rest of brigadier Lambert's grenadiers got up to them; with whose assistance they repulsed the enemy, took three brass field pieces, and some wounded prisoners, with the loss of not above thirty men. Here the brave captain Patterson lost his arm.

In a short time all the rest of the English forces made good their landing with very little loss. The enemy indeed, in one or two places, made some opposition, but the British light-horse soon forced them back to the town, and cleared their way up to the very intrenchments. The cannon with great difficulty were brought forward, being obliged to be dragged up the rocks, and then two leagues further over a rugged and broken road. And now the siege of Palais was commenced; at this time there were two thousand six hundred French troops in the citadel, commanded by a brave and experienced officer, the chevalier de St. Croix. From the character of this gentleman it was reasonable to suppose that this place would not be soon surrendered; nor indeed was it. In one of the sallies, which the enemy made, they were so lucky as to take prisoners major-general Crawford, his two aid-de-camps, and fifty more, as they were reconnoitering in the night; the enemy had with them in this sally three hundred men, and came upon Crawford's party by surprise. Notwithstanding the tediousness of the siege, the English forces were not dispirited; nor indeed did the besieged appear to be disheartened. They still hoped
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that a fleet would arrive to their assistance; but our ships kept so close a watch, as to prevent all relief from the continent.

A vigorous assault was made upon the lines that covered the town, when a body of new-raised marines behaved with uncommon, and unexpected, bravery; and the lines were carried with very little loss. And now the condition of the besieged was become very desperate; yet the brave commander consulted his honour more than his unhappy situation, and held out till the 7th of June, when seeing no prospect of relief, and the place untenable, he asked, and obtained, an honourable capitulation, after a defence of two months. He was granted for himself and garrison all the honours of war, and they were transported to the continent at the expence of his Britannick majesty. The British prisoners were declared to be free, from the moment of the capitulation; but the French prisoners were to be exchanged according to the cartel of Sluys. In this expedition we are supposed to have had eighteen hundred men killed and wounded; though some accounts make the killed to have amounted to two thousand; among these was sir W. Peere Williams, whose loss was much lamented. He was shot in the night by having carelessly approached too near a centinel of the enemy. The captains Bell, Wightwick, and Collins, of the marines, were promoted to the rank of majors in the army for their gallant behaviour. We have just observed that the marines, tho' newly raised, behaved in the attack upon the French lines with so much bravery, that no action of greater spirit and gallantry had been performed during the whole war. In the course of this siege, out of the troops that at first composed the French garrison, nine hundred and twenty-two were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; many brave English died of distempers, the island was in itself so barren, and St. Croix had taken care to remove the little it produced; so that provisions and refreshment must of course be all supplied from England.

With respect to this expedition, various were the reasonings at home upon it. Whilst it was yet in embryo, the expectations of the public were greatly raised, who hoped something very capital was going to be undertaken against the enemy. But as soon as the destination of it was known, many thought contemptibly of it; and their disgust was increased at the delay that attended the taking of Belleisle, and the expence of men and stores. They did not think that the acquisition of it would be of any considerable service to England in time of peace, if kept, or of any great injury to the enemy during the continuance of the war. They judged, that it could not be

taken without a considerable loss, or kept without a very great expence; and, on the whole, they apprehended that when exchanges came to be made, it would be considered by France as of but little value. Others reasoned thus; that tho' the harbours in that island were bad, yet small privateers might lie there, and occasionally molest the French coasting trade; and that an English fleet might ride between it and the continent in a well-secured road. They further supposed, that tho' the loss of the island might not be of great detriment to the interest of France, yet that her pride would be sensibly mortified by it; and that those reasons, which had formerly induced her to be at great expence in strengthening the fortifications of it, and when alarmed with an invasion, to put a strong garrison into it, might make her set some value on it when it should come under consideration in the treaty for a peace.

Others again disliked this expedition, because as a treaty for a peace was then in agitation between the two Courts, they thought this insult upon the court of France would rather exasperate them, and irritate their pride to renew those efforts which their great losses had obliged them to suspend. But this event did not seem to have had any prejudicial effect upon the treaty; and the breaking it off does not seem, in the least, to be charged to that transaction. Notwithstanding all these different reasonings upon this event, the news of this capture no sooner arrived in England, than a general joy diffus'd itself throughout the whole kingdom, and the city of London addressed his Majesty upon the acquisition. The General, and the land and sea Officers concerned in the expedition, were universally praised, for having so bravely struggled with, and at last overcome, the great difficulties that they had to encounter, and for not being dispirited at their first repulse, but still nobly renewing the attack under circumstances nearly as discouraging as those they had at first experienced.

The loss of Belleisle was not the only injury the French suffered from us this year; in the month of July part of commodore Keppel's squadron, under sir Thomas Stanhope, demolished the works and fortifications on the isle of Aix. A captain of the Furnace bomb, on this occasion, bravely distinguished himself.

All Europe could not but be sensible, that, at this time, France was in such an exhausted condition, as not to be able to continue the payment of the stipulated subsidies; nor punctually to fulfil the engagements she had entered into with her allies. This, that power seemed as little desirous to conceal, as unable so to do; and accordingly that court made some proposals towards

towards a peace, with which the other powers at war thought prudent to concur. Each of these parties prepared a declaration, which were all signed on the 25th of March, 1761, at Paris; the last day of the same month, they were delivered at London, accompanied by a letter from the duke de Choiseul to Mr. Pitt. As the conduct of the court of France, in this affair, had the appearance of candor and sincerity, there was no delay made on our part. For the eighth of April following, a counter letter and memorial were returned on the part of the court of Great Britain. The king of Prussia also made his declaration. Augsburg was chose as the most convenient city for all the parties to hold a congress. The English plenipotentiaries appointed for this purpose were, the lords Egremont and Stormont, and general Yorke; and the count de Choiseul, for France. But as this congress, to be held by the consent of the parties concerned in war on the continent, was only for the determination of that, and to restore a general peace to Germany, a distinct and separate negociation was to be entered into between Great Britain and France, to examine and settle those matters in which they were mutually and particularly interested.

Accordingly Mr. Stanley, on the part of Great Britain, and Mr. Bussy, on that of France, set out for the two different courts, with plenipotentiary powers; they both arrived the latter end of May, the one at Marli, and the other at London. A negociation was accordingly entered on. The Articles of the greatest consequence between the Two Powers, to be settled, were these three.

I. France strenuously insisted, that a recompence should be made to the French merchants, for those ships that had been taken from them by the English, previous to the Declaration of War; but this was positively refused on our part.

II. England demanded, that Wesel and Guelders, and their dependant territories should be restored to the king of Prussia; but this was peremptorily refused on the part of France, as the former demand had been by our court.

III. This turned upon withdrawing all subsistence, as well in subsidies as in money, mutually, and without prevarication from their allies in Germany. This was a subject, however, not easily to be adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties.

The principal things to be settled by the other Articles were these:

- I. That all Canada should remain to England; according to its utmost boundaries, including the course of the Ohio.
- II. That the nations hereafter to be considered as neutrals, between Canada, Carolina, and Louisiana, should be traced out by lines.
- III. That the French should exercise the right of fishing, and dressing fish on the coast of Newfoundland, according to the 13th Article of the treaty of Utrecht. And that the isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon should be ceded to France; but without any fortification, or military establishment, for the said purposes.
- IV. That the works added to the port of Dunkirk, since the beginning of the war, should be entirely demolished.
- V. The neutral islands of Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, and St. Vincent, should be equally divided.
- VI. That Senegal and Goree should be guarantied to Great Britain, as should the settlements of Anamaboo and Akra, on the coast of Africa, to France.
- VII. That a treaty between the English and French East-India company should be immediately entered upon, concerning their mutual differences, to be settled and finished at the same time with that between the two nations.
- VIII. That Great Britain should have Minorca restored, with all the artillery found in fort St. Philip at the time it surrendered.
- IX. That Guadaloupe and Marigalante should be restored to France, in the same manner.
- X. That the landgraviate of Hesse, county of Hanau, and town of Göttingen, should be evacuated, and restored to their respective sovereigns.
- XI. That the French king should declare, he never had any intention of retaining Nieuport and Ostend after a general peace.

This separation of the disputes merely relative to England and France from those of the continent, and leaving the latter to be settled by the principal Powers at war, in the congress of Augsbourg, and that without the interposition of the neutral Powers, seemed to be such wise and prudent measures, as to have promised a successful conclusion. But the very contrary was the consequence. Nor is this so much to be wondered at, if we examine the matter a little closer. For as the concerns of France were, by this settlement, separated from the general cause, her own private interests became the more conspicuous; and she could not but be sensible how much
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they were likely to suffer in a treaty with a victorious power, such as England at this time was. And tho' France had been more successful on the continent, yet she could not promise herself such advantages from the settlement of affairs there, as might be sufficient to indemnify her for the concessions England might require her to make, particularly in America, where the principal matters in dispute between the two Powers subsisted. This reduced her to think of some other resource. This was only to be found in Spain, and accordingly the interests of that power were artfully introduced. Thus in the fifth Article of the French Memorial, of July 15, 1761, are these extraordinary words, "England shall enter into possession, as sovereign over the island of Tobago, in the same manner as France over that of St. Lucia, saving, at all times, the right of a third person, with whom the two crowns will explain themselves, if such a right exists."

We cannot help here remarking, that the politics of France, at this time, seemed likely to have been as fatal to England, as they have ever been, if not more so. For had a peace at this time taken place, France would have recovered twenty thousand seamen, who might have been employed in a new war, under the pretence of being an ally to Spain, in favour of whom the above Article appears to have been calculated, that the king of Spain might have a plausible pretence to quarrel with Great Britain. That this certainly was the intention of France, appears most convincingly from the private memorial of the same date; in which a negociation with Spain was formally introduced, and the following demands made.

I. The restitution of some captures made upon the Spanish flag.

II. The privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland.

III. The demolition of the English settlements in the bay of Honduras.

"M. Buffy represented to Mr. Pitt, that it would be very dangerous to determine the fate of the neutral islands without attending to the claims of Spain, with which his Catholic Majesty had recently acquainted the court of Versailles, but which might easily be relinquished, if the other three Articles were adjusted to the satisfaction of that monarch. This blending of the concerns of Spain, with the separate treaty between Great Britain and France, was very surprising at that time to the court of London. But it soon after appeared, that the kings of France and Spain had, even then, been negotiating

ciating a family compact, in full contradiction to the spirit of the treaty of Utrecht, and in express violation of the rights of commerce which Great Britain ought to enjoy. This extraordinary compact was signed at Versailles, on the 15th of August, and ratified on the 8th of September, twelve days before Mr. Stanley broke off the negociation with the duke de Choiseul. By this compact, a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, was established by these two powers, against all the world. It is sufficiently evident, from the whole tenor of this compact, that any treaty between Great Britain and France, made at that juncture, must have been delusive, if not momentary, unless the dignity and interests of the former had been tamely sacrificed to the demands of Spain."

It was agreed in this treaty between France and Spain, that whoever should declare war against one, did at that instant become an enemy to the other: And they bound themselves by mutual oath to assist each other in all wars offensive and defensive; they guaranteed each others dominions; and their natural-born subjects are to enjoy all rights, privileges and immunities, &c. in both kingdoms; and their ambassadors at all foreign courts are to live in perfect amity and association. In a word, it is a treaty of firm union and concord, formed by ambition to destroy all balance of power, and for ever to disturb the peace of mankind. This is what is called the *Family Compact*. It was concluded in so secret a manner, that not above one or two persons, except the signers, had for some time any knowledge of it. The connexions between these two branches of the house of Bourbon were not rivetted, when Mr. Pitt discovered the intentions of Spain to assist France. It was, when the plan of the separate negociation between England and France had been settled; when every thing that human wisdom could foresee had been happily arranged and fixed, in laying the basis of the treaty, that the machinations of France and the designs of Spain were discovered by M. Bussy's delivering a Memorial, signifying, that the Catholic King desired to settle his differences with Great Britain at the same time that France did. Mr. Pitt instantly took the alarm: He saw the insincerity of France; and he rejected with disdain the offer of negotiating 'through an enemy humbled, and almost at his feet, the disputes of his nation, with a power actually in friendship with us.' He returned this offensive Memorial as wholly inadmissible, and declared that any further mention of it would be looked upon as an affront to the crown, and incompatible with the sincerity of the negociation. At the same time he dispatched a messenger to Lord Bristol, the Eng-
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lish minister at Madrid, to remonstrate with energy and firmness, the unexampled irregularity of that court. The Spanish ministry vindicated their proceedings with France, and insinuated their attachment to that kingdom. Mr. Pitt was now confirmed; he clearly saw the secret views of Spain; and he saw that the artifices and expressions of friendship for Great Britain, were only made use of to conceal those views, till the Spanish treasure from the West-Indies should be arrived, and then the King of Spain would declare himself.

It is proper to observe, that in the conferences between Mr. Pitt and M. de Buffy, the British minister, with a dignity and spirit becoming his character and the greatness of his nation, always treated him short: He said little, and what he said was always final: He left no room for prevarication; and when it was attempted, he constantly withdrew: He distrusted the sincerity of Buffy's intentions, and the integrity of the French court. The French agent was thus deprived of coming at the secrets of England, which long conferences and chance expressions might give him some intimation of. M. Buffy then set himself to work another way. He found other persons who received him with affability. By his courtesy and address he made himself agreeable to them. Here he employed his dexterity. He threw into a farcical light every virtue of those who were for making the most of our advantages: He represented resolution, firmness, and intrepidity, as quixotism, obstinacy, and insolence; dignity as pride, and manly boldness as haughty presumption. Buffy found Mr. Pitt had enemies: To them he gave this doctrine, and they spread it abroad with uncommon industry; together with a malignity that would disgrace the pens of the lowest dregs of mankind.

The unseasonable interposition of Spain was the true cause of the negociation breaking off. All other matters might perhaps have been settled. From this we received an incurable suspicion of the designs of France and Spain. After which it was impossible to bring things to an happy issue; therefore the two ministers returned to their respective courts in the month of September.

Mr. Pitt instantly prepared for war. He was fully satisfied Spain had resolved to assist France. He had received intimation, if not a copy of the treaty of union between them: He saw the designs of Spain on Portugal. He resolved to prevent both; not by the cautious and tardy steps of an ambassador; but by the early appearance of our commanders in chief, at the head of a great squadron, on the coast of Spain, demanding the fullest security and satisfaction of friendship and neutrality;

trality; and if refused, instantly declaring open enmity; and being armed with the force of their nation, to strike terror into the bowels of Spain; to intercept their treasures, and by depriving the Spaniard of his chief dependence, precipitate him into his own snare. This was a vigorous resolution; such as is rarely to be met with, and such as will be an illustrious and eternal monument of Mr. Pitt's penetration and spirit, because time proved the rectitude of it. At this time he was opposed: He had of late met with frequent opposition to his schemes; however, when he proposed this measure, he declared that 'this was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; that if this opportunity was let slip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this instance, he was resolved that this was the *last* time he should sit in that council. He thanked the Ministers of the *late King* for their support; said he himself was called into the Ministry by the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct; and he would no longer remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide.' In this grand and leading motion he was supported by Lord Temple; that nobleman had been his fellow compatriot and coadjutor from the beginning of his administration, and continued so to the end: All the rest opposed it. He now saw his influence in the state entirely at an end. He resolved on resigning: His motives for it were fair and honest: They were such as he himself knew would answer and account for every part of his conduct hitherto; he thought this the properest time to resign his trust, when he could no longer be useful in the execution of it; but must either obstruct and embarrass the measures carried on by others if he opposed them; or sacrifice his own fame and honour if he concurred in them contrary to his own conviction, and what he apprehended to be the interest of his country. Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple immediately resigned, September 5, and they gave to his Majesty their reasons in writing. The King expressed his concern for the loss of Mr. Pitt, and offered him any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. To have refused would have been insult. Next day an annuity of 3000 l. was settled on him, and a title was conferred on his lady and her issue. Never was a pension better bestowed, nor nobility better merited.

On the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the earl of Egremont was appointed secretary of state. The earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at Madrid, was ordered to demand an explanation of the secret treaty, which had been lately ratified between France

France and Spain; and to declare that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war. The Spanish court had already taken all their measures in concert with France, and only waited for an opportunity to provoke Great Britain to a rupture; therefore they replied as follows.

Translation of a Note delivered to the earl of EGREMONT by the count de FUENTES, ambassador at the court of LONDON from the court of SPAIN, December 25, 1761.

THE count de Fuentes, the Catholic king's ambassador to his Britannic Majesty, had just received a courier from his court, by whom he is informed, that my lord Bristol, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the court of Madrid, has said to his excellency mr. Wall, minister of state, that he had orders to demand a positive and categorical answer to this question, viz. "If Spain thinks of allying herself with France against England," and to declare at the same time, that he should take a refusal to his demand for an aggression and declaration of war; and that he should, in consequence, be obliged to retire from the court of Spain. The above minister of state answered him, That such a step could only be suggested by the spirit of haughtiness and discord, which for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns but too much in the British government: That it was in that very moment that the war was declared, and the king's dignity violently attacked, and that he might retire how and when he should think proper.

"The count de Fuentes is, in consequence, ordered to leave the court and the dominions of England; and to declare to the British king, to the English nation, and to the whole universe, that the horrors into which the Spanish and English nations are going to plunge themselves, must be attributed only to the pride, and to the unmeasurable ambition of him who has held the reins of the government, and who appears still to hold them, although by another hand: that if his Catholic majesty excused himself from answering on the treaty in question between his Catholic majesty and his most Christian majesty, which is believed to have been signed the 15th of August, and wherein, it is pretended, there are conditions relative to England, he had very good reasons: First, the king's dignity required him to manifest his just resentment of the little management, or, to speak more properly, of the insulting manner, with which all the affairs of Spain have

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been treated during Mr. Pitt's administration, who, finding himself convinced of the justice, which supported the king in his pretensions, his ordinary and last answer was; "That he would not relax in any thing, till the Tower of London was taken sword in hand."

Besides, his majesty was much shocked to hear the haughty and imperious tone, with which the contents of the treaty were demanded of him: If the respect due to royal majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty: The ministers of Spain might have said frankly to those of England, what the count de Fuentes, by the king's express order, declares publicly, viz. That the said treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon, wherein there is nothing which has the least relation to the present war: That there is in it an article for the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the two sovereigns; but it is specified therein, that that guaranty is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France, after the present war shall be ended; that although his Catholic majesty might have had reason to think himself offended by the irregular manner in which the memorial was returned to m. de Buffly, minister of France, which he had presented for terminating the differences of Spain and England, at the same time with the war between this last and France; he has, however, dissembled, and from an effect of his love of peace, caused a memorial to be delivered to my lord Bristol, wherein it is evidently demonstrated, that the step of France, which put the minister Pitt into so bad humour, did not at all offend either the laws of neutrality, or the sincerity of the two sovereigns: That further, from a fresh proof of his pacific spirit, the king of Spain wrote to the king of France, his cousin, that if the union of interest in any manner retarded the peace with England, he consented to separate himself from it, not to put any obstacle to so great a happiness: But it was soon seen that this was only a pretence on the part of the English minister; for that of France continuing his negociation without making any mention of Spain, and proposing conditions very advantageous and honourable for England, the minister Pitt, to the great astonishment of the universe, rejected them with disdain, and shewed at the same time his ill-will against Spain, to the scandal of the same British council; and unfortunately he has succeeded but too far in his pernicious design.

This declaration made, the count de Fuentes desire his excellency my lord Egremont to present his most humble respects to

to his Britannic majesty, and to obtain for him passports, and all other facilities, for him, his family, and all his retinue, to go out of the dominions of Great Britain without any trouble, and to go by the short passage of the sea, which separates them from the continent."

If there is a personal virulence against the late minister in this memorial, which descends even to scurrility; how ungratefull is the usage he has received since from his own countrymen, who have echoed, from that period, both in conversation and in print, the substance of a declaration calculated to sow jealousies and foment divisions among the subjects of Great Britain? The court of London saw too much of this spirit of invective in the Spanish memorial, and took notice of it in the answer delivered by the earl of Egremont; of which we are forced to give a translation; for the enemies of England, having displaced mr. Pitt, were no longer necessitated to treat with us in English.

Translation of the Answer delivered to the count de FUENTES by the earl of EGREMONT, Dec. 31, 1761.

"THE earl of Egremont, his Britannic Majesty's secretary of state, having received from his excellency the count de Fuentes, ambassador of the Catholic king at the court of London, a paper, in which, besides the notification of his recal, and the demand of the necessary passports to go out of the king's dominions, he has thought proper to enter into what has just passed between the two courts, with a view to make that of London appear as the source of all the misfortunes which may ensue from the rupture which has happened: In order that nobody may be misled by the declaration, which his excellency has been pleased to make to the king, to the English nation, and to the whole universe; notwithstanding the insinuation, as void of foundation as of decency, of the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which, his excellency pretends, reigns in the British government, to the misfortune of mankind; and notwithstanding the irregularity and indecency of appealing to the English nation, as if it could be separated from its king, for whom the most determined sentiments of love, of duty, and of confidence, are engraved in the hearts of all his subjects; the said earl of Egremont, by his majesty's order, laying aside, in this answer, all spirit of declamation and harshness, avoiding every offensive word,

which might hurt the dignity of sovereigns, without stooping to invectives against private persons, will confine himself to facts with the most scrupulous exactness: And it is from this representation of facts, that he appeals to all Europe, and to the whole universe, for the purity of the king's intentions, and for the sincerity of the wishes his majesty has not ceased to make, as well as for the moderation he has always shewed, tho' in vain, for the maintenance of friendship and good understanding between the British and Spanish nations.

The king having received undoubted informations, that the court of Madrid had secretly contracted engagements with that of Versailles, which the ministers of France laboured to represent, in all the courts of Europe, as offensive to Great Britain; and combining these appearances with the step which the court of Spain had, a little time before, taken towards his Majesty, in avowing its consent (tho' that avowal had been followed by apologies) to the memorial presented the 23d of July, by the sieur de Buffy, minister plenipotentiary of the most Christian king, to the king's secretary of state; and his majesty having afterwards received intelligence, scarce admitting a doubt, of troops marching, and of military preparations making in all the ports of Spain, judged that his dignity, as well as his prudence, required him to order his ambassador at the court of Madrid, by a dispatch, dated the 28th of October, to demand, in terms the most measured however, and the most amicable, a communication of the treaty recently concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, or at least of the articles which might relate to the interests of Great Britain; and, in order to avoid every thing, which could be thought to imply the least slight of the dignity, or even the delicacy, of his Catholic majesty, the earl of Bristol was authorised to content himself with assurances, in case the Catholic king offered to give any, that the said engagements did not contain any thing that was contrary to the friendship which subsisted between the two crowns, or that was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, supposing that any difficulty was made of shewing the treaty. The king could not give a less equivocal proof of his dependance on the good faith of the Catholic king, than in shewing him an unbounded confidence in so important an affair, and which so essentially interested his own dignity, the good of his kingdoms, and the happiness of his people.

How great, then, was the king's surprise, when, instead of receiving the just satisfaction, which he had a right to expect, he learnt from his ambassador, that, having addressed himself

to the minister of Spain, for that purpose, he could only draw from him a refusal to give a satisfactory answer to his majesty's just requisitions, which he had accompanied with terms that breathed nothing but haughtiness, animosity, and menace; and which seemed so strongly to verify the suspicions of the unamiable disposition of the court of Spain, that nothing less than his majesty's moderation, and his resolution taken to make all the efforts possible to avoid the misfortunes inseparable from a rupture, could determine him to make a last trial, by giving orders to his ambassador to address himself to the minister of Spain, to desire him to inform him of the intentions of the court of Madrid towards that of Great Britain in this conjuncture, if they had taken engagements, or formed the design to join the king's enemies in the present war, or to depart, in any manner, from the neutrality they had hitherto observed; and to make that minister sensible, that, if they persisted in refusing all satisfaction on demands so just, so necessary, and so interesting, the king could not but consider such a refusal as the most authentic avowal, that Spain had taken her part, and that there only remained for his majesty to take the measures which his royal prudence should dictate for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the prosperity and protection of his people; and to recal his ambassador.

Unhappily for the publick tranquillity, for the interest of the two nations, and for the good of mankind, this last step was as fruitless as the preceding ones; the Spanish minister, keeping no further measures, answered dryly, "That it was in that very moment that the war was declared, and the king's dignity attacked, and that the earl of Bristol might retire how, and when, he should think proper."

And in order to set in its true light the declaration, "That, if the respect due to his Catholick majesty had been regarded, explanations might have been had without any difficulty; and that the ministers of Spain might have said frankly, as m. de Fuentes, by the king's express order, declares publicly, that the said treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon; wherein there is nothing which has the least relation to the present war; and that the guaranty, which is therein specified, is not to be understood but of the dominions which shall remain to France after the war:" It is declared, that, very far from thinking of being wanting to the respect, acknowledged to be due to crowned heads, the instructions given to the earl of Bristol have always been to make the requisitions, on the subject of the engagements between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, with all the decency, and
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all the attention possible; and the demand of a categorical answer was not made till after repeated, and the most stinging refusals, to give the least satisfaction, and at the last extremity; therefore, if the court of Spain ever had the design to give this so necessary satisfaction, they had not the least reason, that ought to have engaged them to defer it to the moment, when it could no longer be of use. But, fortunately, the terms, in which the declaration is conceived, spare us the regret of not having received it sooner; for it appears at first sight, that the answer is not at all conformable to the demand: We wanted to be informed, *if the court of Spain intended to join the French, our enemies, to make war on Great Britain, or to depart from their neutrality*: Whereas the answer concerns one treaty only, which is said to be of the 15th of August, carefully avoiding to say the least word that could explain, in any manner, the intentions of Spain towards Great Britain, or the further engagements they may have contracted in the present crisis.

After a deduction, as exact as faithful, of what has passed between the two courts, it is left to the impartial publick to decide which of the two has always been inclined to peace, and which was determined on war.

As to the rest, the earl of Egremont has the honour to acquaint his excellency the count de Fuentes, by the king's order, that the necessary passports for him shall be expedited, and that they will not fail to procure him all possible facilities for his passage to the port which he shall think most convenient."

That the reader may see the machinations of FRANCE and SPAIN in one point of view, and compare them with those Memorials, we have added here the substance of the Family Compact, which as we mentioned was ratified twelve days before the negociation between mr. STANLEY and the duke de CHOISEUL was broken off.

The substance of the Treaty concluded between FRANCE and SPAIN on the 15th of August, 1761.

" 1. **B**OTH kings will, for the future, look upon every power as an enemy, that becomes the enemy of either.

2. Their majesties reciprocally guaranty all their dominions, in whatever part of the world they be situated; but they expressly

expresly stipulate that this guaranty shall extend only to those dominions respectively of which the two crowns shall be in possession the moment they are at peace with all the world.

3. The two kings extend their guaranty to the king of the Two Sicilies, and the infant duke of Parma, on condition that these two princes guaranty the dominions of their most Christian and Catholic majesties.

4. Tho' this mutual, inviolable guaranty is to be supported with all the forces of the two kings, their majesties have thought proper to fix the succours which are to be first furnished.

5, 6, 7. These articles determine the quality and quantity of these first succours, which the power required engages to furnish to the power requiring. These succours consist of ships and frigates of war, and of land-forces, both horse and foot. Their number is determined, and the posts and stations to which they are to repair.

8. The wars in which France shall be involved, in consequence of her engagements by the treaties of Westphalia, or other alliances with the princes and states of Germany and the North, are excepted from the cases in which Spain is bound to furnish succours to France, unless some maritime power take part in those wars, or that France be attacked by land in her own country.

9. The potentate requiring, may send one or more commissaries, to see whether the potentate required hath assembled the stipulated succours within the limited time.

10, 11. The potentate required shall be at liberty to make only one representation on the use to be made of the succours furnished to the potentate requiring: This, however, is to be understood only in cases where an enterprize is to be carried into immediate execution; and not of ordinary cases, where the power that is to furnish the succours is obliged only to hold them in readiness in that part of his dominions which the power requiring shall appoint.

12, 13. The demand of succours shall be held a sufficient proof, on one hand, of the necessity of receiving them; and, on the other, of the obligation to give them. The furnishing of them shall not therefore be evaded under any pretext; and without entering into any discussion, the stipulated number of ships and land forces shall, three months after requisition, be considered as belonging to the potentate requiring.

14, 15. The charges of the said ships and troops shall be defrayed by the power to which they are sent: And the power which sends them shall hold ready other ships to replace those
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which may be lost by accidents of the seas or of war; and also the necessary recruits and reparations of the land-forces.

16. The succours above stipulated shall be considered as the least that either of the two monarchs shall be at liberty to furnish to the other; but as it is their intention that a war declared against either, shall be regarded as personal by the other; they agree, that when they happen to be both engaged in war against the same enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces; and that, in such cases, they will enter into a particular convention suited to circumstances, and settle as well the respective and reciprocal efforts to be made, as their political and military plans of operations, which shall be executed by common consent and with perfect agreement.

17, 18. The two powers reciprocally and formally engage not to listen to, nor to make, any proposals of peace to their common enemies, but by mutual consent; and, in time of peace as well as in the time of war, to consider the interests of the allied crown as their own; to compensate their respective losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power.

19, 20. The king of Spain contracts for the king of the Two Sicilies, the engagement of this treaty, and promises to cause it to be ratified by that prince; provided that the proportion of the succours, to be furnished by his Sicilian majesty, shall be settled in proportion to his power. The three monarchs engage to support, on all occasions, the dignity and rights of their house, and those of all the princes descended from it.

21, 22. No other power but those of the august house of Bourbon shall be inserted, or admitted to accede to the present treaty. Their respective subjects and dominions shall participate in the connection and advantages settled between the sovereigns, and shall not do or undertake any thing contrary to the good understanding subsisting between them.

23. The *Droit d'Aubaine* shall be abolished in favour of the subjects of their Catholic and Sicilian majesties, who shall enjoy in France the same privileges as the natives. The French shall likewise be treated in Spain, and the Two Sicilies, as the natural-born subjects of these two monarchies.

24. The subjects of the three sovereigns shall enjoy, in their respective dominions in Europe, the same privileges and exemptions as the natives.

25. Notice shall be given to the powers, with whom the three contracting monarchs have already concluded, or shall hereafter

hereafter conclude treaties of commerce, that the treatment of the French in Spain and the Two Sicilies, of the Spaniards in France and the Two Sicilies; and of the Sicilians in France and Spain, shall not be cited nor serve as a precedent; it being the intention of their most Christian, Catholic, and Sicilian majesties, that no nation shall participate in the advantages of their respective subjects.

26. The contracting parties shall reciprocally disclose to each other their alliances and negotiations, especially when they have reference to their common interests; and their ministers at all the courts of Europe shall live in the greatest harmony and mutual confidence.

27. This article contains only a stipulation concerning the ceremonial to be observed between the ministers of France and Spain, with regard to precedence at foreign courts.

28. This contains a promise to ratify the treaty.

Nothing had been seen at the British Court in the mean time but splendor and festivity, with a prospect of both issue and domestic happiness, from the King's Marriage in September this year, with the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, now Queen of Great Britain, &c. Addresses of felicitation were ushered in as usual by the City of London, and poured upon them by the Clergy, the Universities, the different sects of Religion, the Cities, Towns, and Corporations in all parts of the British Dominions.

But the ceremony of the Coronation still remained to be gone through with all the tedious circumstances which custom had clogged it with. A commission had lately passed the great seal, constituting a court to decide the pretensions of a great number of people, who laid claim to different offices and privileges in the celebration of this necessary form; many of these so frivolous, and uncouth, as to throw an air of ridicule on the whole transaction. Westminster-hall was prepared for the coronation-banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, boarding the floor, erecting canopies, and building three rows of galleries for the accommodation of spectators. A platform was laid between this Hall and the Abbey-church, where the King is usually crowned. All the houses and streets within sight of the procession were faced and crowded with benches and scaffolding, which was continued on both sides within the Abbey from the western entrance almost up to the choir. The prospect formed by these occasional erections, which were very well contrived for security and convenience, could not fail to awaken the expect-

tation of the spectator for something solemn and sublime: But when all these benches were filled with above two hundred thousand people, of both sexes, arrayed in gay apparel, they filled the mind with an astonishing idea of the wealth and populousness of Great Britain, and added to the magnificent appearance of such an incredible profusion of jewels and finery, and all the other circumstances of pomp by which it was distinguished. The principal objects, however, still maintained their importance in the eyes and bosoms of all the spectators, who could not without the most lively emotions of admiration and joy behold such attractive accomplishments in the Royal Pair, whose virtues adorned the crowns they were destined to wear; he, like Titus, the delight of every eye; and she, the very pattern of sweetness and complacency.

As the Kings and Queens of Great Britain are always entertained at Guildhall by the Lord Mayor who happens to be chosen in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made for the reception of their Majesties; who, with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet, in the midst of the most extraordinary expressions of loyalty and attachment that ever were known on any former occasion.

On the 3d day of November the new parliament was opened at Westminster. It was pretended no ministerial influence had been used in electing the members of which it was composed, and that it deserved the appellation of a free parliament; but we are to remember, that discord had again shewn herself in the cabinet, and parties were avowedly forming, in which court-influence bore a considerable weight. The King being seated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the Commons; to whom he signified his pleasure, by the speech of the Lord High Chancellor, that they should return to their house, and chuse a new speaker. Accordingly their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cust, baronet, a gentleman of extensive knowledge and distinguished probity, qualified in all respects to supply the room of Mr. Onslow, who had so long and so worthily discharged that important office.

The House of Commons, in order to manifest the warmth of their attachment to their sovereign, proceeded to take into consideration that part of his speech relating to his royal comfort; and they resolved, that, in case she should survive his Majesty, she should enjoy a provision of one hundred thousand pounds per annum during her life, together with the palace of Somerset-house, and the Lodge and Lands at Richmond
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old Park: That the King should be enabled to charge that annuity upon all or any part of such of the revenues, as, by an act made in the last session for the support of his Majesty's household, were directed to be, during the King's life, consolidated with the aggregate fund, and should be subsisting after his Majesty's demise; and to charge all or any part of the aggregate fund, as a collateral security for making good the said annuity. A bill formed on these resolutions passed both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent on the 2d day of December; when the Speaker made a speech to his Majesty, replete with expressions of loyalty and affection.

Their next care was to examine estimates, and provide for the prosecution of the war. They voted seventy thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year: They kept up the land forces to the number of sixty-seven thousand six hundred and seventy-six, over and above the militia of England, the two regiments of fencible men in North Britain, the provincial troops in North America, and sixty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-seven German auxiliaries to support the war in Westphalia. The above grants, with others for the ensuing year, amounted to 16,794,153 l. 18 s. 11 d. 1 h.

1762.

ALL marks of friendship with Spain being now at an end, the first transaction this year was the declaring of War against that crown, which was done in the following words:

His MAJESTY'S DECLARATION OF WAR against the KING of SPAIN.

GEORGE R.

THE constant object of our attention, since our accession to the throne, has been, if possible, to put an end to the calamities of War, and to settle the public tranquillity upon a solid and lasting foundation. To prevent these calamities from being extended still farther, and because the most perfect harmony between Great-Britain and Spain is, at all times, the mutual interest of both nations, it has been our earnest desire to maintain the strictest amity with the king of Spain, and to accommodate the disputes between us and that crown in the most amicable manner. This object we have steadily pursued, notwithstanding the many partialities shewn by the Spaniards to our enemies, the French, during the course of the present war, inconsistent with their neutrality; and

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most essential proofs have been given of the friendship and regard of the court of Great-Britain for the king of Spain and his family. After a conduct so friendly, and so full of good faith, on our part, it was a matter of great surprize to us, to find a memorial delivered on the 23d day of July last, by m. Bussy, minister plenipotentiary of France, to one of our principal secretaries of state, expressly relating to the disputes between us and the crown of Spain; and declaring, that if those objects should bring on a war, the French king would be obliged to take part therein. Our surprize was encreased, when, afterwards, this unprecedented and offensive step, made by a power in open war with us, was avowed by the Spanish minister to our ambassador at Madrid, to have been taken with the full approbation and consent of the king of Spain.

But as this avowal was accompanied with the most becoming apologies on the part of the king of Spain, and with assurances, that such memorial never would have been delivered, if it had been foreseen that we should have looked upon it in an offensive light; and that the king of Spain was at liberty, and ready, to adjust all his differences with Great-Britain, without the intervention or knowledge of France: And soon after we had the satisfaction to be informed by our ambassador at Madrid, that the Spanish minister, taking notice of the reports industriously spread of an approaching rupture, had acquainted him, that the king of Spain had, at no time, been more intent on cultivating a good correspondence with us; and as the Spanish ambassador at our court made repeated declarations to the same effect, we thought ourselves bound in justice and prudence to forbear coming to extremities.

But the same tender concern for the welfare of our subjects, which prevented our accelerating precipitately a war with Spain, if it could possibly be avoided, made it necessary for us to endeavour to know with certainty, what were the engagements and real intentions of the court of Spain. Therefore as we had information that engagements had been lately contracted between the courts of Madrid and Versailles; and it was soon after industriously spread throughout all Europe, by the ministers of France, that the purport of those engagements was hostile to Great-Britain, and that Spain was on the point of entering into the war; we directed our ambassador to desire, in the most friendly terms, a communication of the treaties lately concluded between France and Spain; or of such articles thereof as immediately related to the interests of Great-Britain, if any such there were; or, at least, an assurance that there were none incompatible with the friendship

ship subsisting between us and the crown of Spain. Our concern and astonishment was great, when we learned, that, so far from giving satisfaction upon so reasonable an application, the Spanish minister had declined answering, with reasonings and insinuations of a very hostile tendency; and as, at the same time, we had intelligence, that great armaments were making in Spain, by sea and land, we thought it absolutely necessary to try, once more, if a rupture could be avoided: We therefore directed our ambassador to ask in a firm, but friendly manner, whether the court of Madrid intended to join the French, our enemies, to act hostilely against Great-Britain, or to depart from its neutrality; and, if he found the Spanish minister avoided to give a clear answer, to insinuate, in the most decent manner, that the refusing or avoiding to answer a question so reasonable, could only arise from the king of Spain's having already engaged, or resolved to take part against us, and must be looked upon as an avowal of such hostile intention, and equivalent to a declaration of war, and that he had orders immediately to leave the court of Madrid.

The peremptory refusal by the court of Spain to give the least satisfaction, with regard to any of those reasonable demands on our part, and the solemn declaration at the same time made by the Spanish minister, that they considered the war as then actually declared, prove to a demonstration, that their resolution to act offensively was so absolutely and irrevocably taken, that it could not be any longer dissembled or denied. The king of Spain, therefore, having been induced, without any provocation on our part, to consider the war as already commenced against us, which has in effect been declared at Madrid; we trust, that by the blessing of Almighty God, on the justice of our cause, and by the assistance of our loving subjects, we shall be able to defeat the ambitious designs, which have formed this union between the two branches of the house of Bourbon; have now begun a new war; and portend the most dangerous consequences to all Europe. Therefore we have thought fit to declare, and do hereby declare war against the said king of Spain: And we will, in pursuance of such declaration, vigorously prosecute the said war, wherein the honour of our crown, the welfare of our subjects, and the prosperity of this nation, which we are determined at all times with our utmost power to preserve and support, are so greatly concerned.

And we do hereby will and require our generals and commanders of our forces, our commissioners for executing the
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office of our high admiral of Great-Britain, our lieutenant of our several counties, governors of our forts and garrisons and all other officers and foldiers under them, by sea and land, to do and execute all acts of hostility, in the prosecution of this war, against the said king of Spain, his vassals and subjects, and to oppose their attempts; willing and requiring all our subjects to take notice of the same; whom we henceforth strictly forbid to hold any correspondence and communication with the said king of Spain and his subjects: And we do hereby command our own subjects, and advertise all other persons, of what nation so ever, not to transport or carry any foldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations, or countries of the said king of Spain, the same being taken, shall be condemned as good and lawful prize. And whereas there may be remaining in our kingdoms divers of the subjects of the king of Spain; we do hereby declare our royal intention to be, That all the Spanish subjects, who shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, shall be safe in their persons and effects.

Given at our court at St James's, the second day of January, 1762, in the second year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

The KING of SPAIN'S DECLARATION OF WAR, was published at Madrid on the 18th of January; of which the following is a translation.

THE KING.

ALthough I have already taken for a declaration of war by England against Spain, the inconsiderate step of lord Bristol, the Britannic king's ambassador at my court, when he demanded of Don Richard Wall, my minister of state, what engagements I had contracted with France, making this the condition of his demand, or rather adding this threat; That if he did not receive a categorical answer, he would leave my court, and take the denial for an aggression: And though, before this provocation was received, my patience was tired out with suffering and beholding, on many occasions, that the English government minded no other law, but the aggrandisement of their nation by land, and universal despotism by sea: I was nevertheless desirous to see whether this menace would be carried into execution; or whether the court of England, sensible of the inefficacy of such methods towards my dignity and that of my crown, would
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not employ others that should be more suitable to me, and make me overlook all those insults. But the haughtiness of the English was so far from containing itself within just bounds, that I have just learned that on the 2d instant a resolution was taken by the Britannic king in council, to declare war against Spain. Thus seeing myself under the hard necessity of following this example, which I would never have given, because it is so horrible and so contrary to humanity, I have ordered by a decree of the 15th instant, that war should likewise be immediately declared, on my part, against the king of England, his kingdoms, estates, and subjects; and that in consequence thereof, proper orders should be sent to all parts of my dominions, where it should be necessary, for their defence, and that of my subjects, as well as for acting offensively against the enemy.

For this end, I order my council of war to take the requisite measures that this declaration of war may be published at my court, and in my kingdoms, with the formalities usual upon such occasions; and that in consequence all kind of hostilities may be exercised towards the English; that those of them who are not naturalized in Spain may leave my kingdoms; that they may carry on no trade there; and that only those who are employed as artizans may be suffered to remain: That for the future my subjects may have no dealings with those of England, nor with the estates of that crown, for any of their productions or fisheries, particularly cod, or their manufactures or merchandize; so that the inhibition of this trade may be understood to be, and may be in fact, absolute and effective, and stamp a vicious quality and a prohibition of sale on the aforesaid effects, productions, fisheries, cod, merchandize, and manufactures of the dominions of England: That no vessels whatsoever, with the abovementioned effects on board, may be admitted into my harbours, and that they may not be permitted to be brought in by land, being illicit and prohibited in my kingdoms, though they may have been brought or deposited in buildings, baggage, warehouses, shops, or houses of merchants or other private persons, my subjects or vassals, or subjects or vassals of provinces and states with whom I am in peace or alliance, or have a free trade, whom, nevertheless, I intend not to hurt, or to infringe the peace, the liberty, and privilege which they enjoy, by treaty, of carrying on a legal trade in my kingdoms with their ships, and the proper and peculiar productions of their lands, provinces, and conquests, or the produce of their manufactories.

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I also command that all merchants, who shall have in their possession any cod, or other fish or produce of the dominions of England, shall in the space of fifteen days from the date of this declaration, declare the same, and deliver an account thereof, either at my court, or elsewhere, to the officers who shall be appointed by the marquis de Squilace, superintendant-general of my revenues, that the whole may be forthcoming; and such of the said effects of which a list shall not be so delivered, in the space of fifteen days, shall be immediately confiscated; two months, and no more being allowed, for the consumption of those which shall be declared; after which time the merchants shall be obliged to carry the said effects to the custom-houses, and, where there is no custom-house, to the houses that serve instead thereof, that they may be publickly sold by an officer or officers nominated for that end, or, if none should be appointed, by the judges, who shall give the produce of the sale to the proprietors; but none of the said merchandizes, prohibited in the manner just described, shall return to their warehouses or shops.

I have given a separate commission, with all the necessary powers, to the marquis de Squilace, superintendant-general of my revenues, that in that quality he may see that this prohibited trade be not suffered, and that he may immediately issue such orders and instructions as he shall think necessary for this important end; taking cognizance, in the first instance, in person, and by his sub-delegates, of the disputes which shall arise on occasion of this contraband, with an appeal to the council of finances in the hall of justice; except however what relates to contraband military stores, arms, and other effects belonging to war, particularized in treaties of peace, the cognizance of disputes on these articles belonging to the council of war and the military tribunals.

And I command that all that is above be observed, executed, and accomplished, under the heavy penalties contained in the laws, pragmatiques, and royal cédulas, issued on like occasions in times past, which are to extend also to all my subjects, and the inhabitants of my kingdoms and estates, without any exception, and notwithstanding any privileges; my will being that this declaration of war shall come as soon as possible to the knowledge of my subjects, as well that they may guard their persons and effects from the insults of the English, as that they may labour to molest them by naval armaments, and by other methods authorized by the law of arms. Given at Buen-retiro, Jan. 16, 1762.

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The King of Spain had no sooner declared war against Great-Britain, than he resolved to invade Portugal; accordingly he, in conjunction with the French, required by several memorials, that the King of Portugal should join in the confederacy against England, and that Spanish troops might be admitted into the principal towns and ports of Portugal. The Portuguese monarch repeatedly desired to continue in his neutrality; but that was not allowed him. The King of Spain instantly denounced war by the following declaration.

*The KING of SPAIN'S DECLARATION OF WAR against
PORTUGAL.*

NEITHER my representations, founded in justice and utility, nor the fraternal persuasives with which I accompanied them, have been able to alter the king of Portugal's blind affection for the English. His ministers, engaged by long habit, continue obstinate in their partiality, to the great prejudice of his subjects; and I have met with nothing but refusals, and have been insulted by his injurious preference of the friendship of England to that of Spain and France. I have even received a personal affront by the arresting of my ambassador, don Joseph Torrero at Estremos, who was detained there in violation of his character, after he had been suffered to depart from Lisbon and had arrived on the frontier, in virtue of passports from that court; but notwithstanding such insults were powerful motives for me to keep no longer any measures with the king of Portugal, nevertheless adhering to my first resolution of not making an offensive war against the Portuguese, unless forced to it, I deferred giving orders to my generals to treat them with the rigours of war; but having read an edict of the King of Portugal's, in which, misrepresenting the upright intentions of the most Christian King and myself, he imputes to us a pre-concerted design of invading his dominions; and orders all his vassals to treat us as enemies, and to break off all correspondence with us both by sea and land; and forbids the use of all productions coming from our territories, confiscating the goods of the French and Spaniards, and likewise ordering them to leave Portugal in a fortnight; which term, however straight, has been further abridged, and many of my subjects have been expelled, plundered, and ill-treated, before the expiration of it. And the marquis de Sarria having found, that the Portuguese, ungrateful to his goodness

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and moderation, and the exactness with which they have been paid for every thing they have furnished for my troops, have proceeded so far as to excite the people and soldiery against my army, so that it would be dishonourable to carry my forbearance any farther. For these causes I have resolved, that from this day my troops shall treat Portugal as an enemy's country, that the property of the Portuguese shall be confiscated throughout my dominions, that all the Portuguese shall leave Spain in a fortnight, and that all commerce with them shall be prohibited for the future.

DECREE, or DECLARATION OF WAR, *issued by order of his*
PORTUGUESE MAJESTY *against* SPAIN.

WHEREAS the ambassador of Castile, don Joseph Torero, in conjunction with don Jacob O'Dunne, minister plenipotentiary of France, by their representations, and the answers I have given thereto, it appears that one of the projects agreed on between the aforesaid powers in the family-compact, was, to dispose of these kingdoms as if they were their own, to invade them, to occupy them, and usurp them, under the incompatible pretext of assisting me against enemies, which they supposed for such, that never existed; and whereas different general officers of his Catholic Majesty have successively, since the 30th of April last, spread various papers through my dominions, prescribing laws and sanctions to my subjects, invading at the same time my provinces with an army divided into various bodies, attacking my fortified places, and perpetrating all the aforesaid hostilities, under pretence of directing them to the advantage and glory of my crown, and of my subjects, and in such light even the Catholic King himself has represented the case to me; and whereas, notwithstanding all these contradictory and unheard-of motives, an offensive war has been made against me, contrary to truth and justice, by the aforesaid two monarchs, thro' mutual consent; I have ordered it to be made known to all my subjects, that they hold all disturbers or violators of the independent sovereignty of my crown, and all invaders of my kingdom, as public aggressors and declared enemies; that from henceforward, in natural defence, and necessary retortion, they be treated as aggressors and declared enemies in all and every sense; and that to oppress them in their persons and effects, all military persons and others, authorised by me, make use of the most executive means which in these cases are supported by all laws; and
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that in like manner, all the said military and every other person or persons, of whatever rank, quality or condition they be, quit all communication and correspondence with the said enemies, under the penalties decreed against rebels and traitors. I likewise order that all the subjects of France and Spain, that reside in this city, or in the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarva, retire within the precise term of 15 days, to reckon from the day of the publication of this decree, otherwise they shall be treated as enemies, and their effects confiscated; and that in all the wet as well as dry ports of this kingdom, all commerce and communication cease with the aforesaid monarchies of France and Spain, and all fruits, manufactures, or goods of any kind, of the produce of the said monarchies, be deemed contraband, and the entry, sale and use of them be prohibited. Ordered that this decree be affixed and transmitted to every county, that it may come to the knowledge of all my subjects. I have given orders to the intendant general of the police to grant passports to all the aforesaid, who have entered these kingdoms, *bona fide*, on their business, that they be permitted to retire unmolested.

Palace of Nossa Senhora da Adjuda, 18th of May, 1762.

With the rubrick of his Majesty.

Published 23d May, 1762.

ANTONIO LUIZ DE CORDES:

As by the family compact no one could be the enemy of either France or Spain, without being an enemy to both, France, agreeable to it's engagement, likewise declared war against Portugal.

The FRENCH KING'S DECLARATION OF WAR against PORTUGAL.

THE King and the Catholic King being obliged to support a war against England, have entered into reciprocal engagements to curb the excessive ambition of that crown, and the despotism which it pretends to usurp in every sea, and particularly in the East and West Indies, over the trade and navigation of other powers.

Their majesties judged that one proper step for attaining this end would be, to invite the King of Portugal to enter into their alliance. It was natural to think that the proposals which were made to that prince on this subject, in the name of his Majesty and of his Catholic Majesty, would be readily

accepted. This opinion was founded on the consideration of what the most Faithful King owed to himself and to his people, who from the beginning of the present century have groaned under the imperious yoke of the English. Besides, the event hath but too clearly shewn the necessity of the just measures taken by France and Spain with regard to a suspicious and dangerous neutrality that had all the inconveniences of a concealed war.

The memorials presented to the court of Lisbon on this subject have been made public: All Europe hath seen the solid reasons of justice and conveniency, which were the foundation of their demand on the King of Portugal: To those were added, on the part of Spain, motives of the most tender friendship and affinity, which ought to have made the strongest and most salutary impression on the mind of the most Faithful King.

But these powerful and just considerations were so far from determining that prince to unite with his Majesty, and his Catholic Majesty, that he absolutely rejected their offers, and chose to sacrifice their alliance, his own glory, and the good of his people, to his unlimited and blind devotion to the will of England.

Such conduct leaving no doubt concerning the King of Portugal's true intentions, the King and the Catholic King could consider him, from that time, only as a direct and personal enemy, who under the artful pretext of a neutrality which would not be observed, would deliver up his ports to the disposal of the English, to serve for sheltering places for their ships, and to enable them to hurt France and Spain with more security and with more effect.

Nevertheless, his Majesty and his Catholic Majesty thought it their duty to keep measures with the most Faithful King; and if the Spanish troops have entered Portugal, this invasion, which was become indispensably necessary, was not accompanied with any declaration of war; and the troops have behaved with all the circumspection that could be required even in a friendly and neutral state.

All this moderation has been thrown away: The king of Portugal hath just now declared war in form against France and Spain. This unexpected step forced the Catholic King to make the like declaration against Portugal; and the King [of France] can no longer defer taking the same resolution.

Independent of the motives which are common to the two monarchs, each had separate grievances to alledge against Portugal, which of themselves would be sufficient to justify the
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the extremity to which their Majesties see themselves with regret obliged to proceed.

Every one knows the unjust and violent attack made by the English, in 1759, on some of the [French] king's ships under the cannon of the Portuguese forts at Lagos. His Majesty demanded of the most Faithful King to procure him restitution of those ships: But that Prince's ministers, in contempt of what was due to the rules of justice, the laws of the sea, the sovereignty and territory of their master (all which were indecently violated by the most scandalous infraction of the rights of sovereigns and of nations) in answer to the repeated requisitions of the King's ambassador on this head, made only vague speeches with an air of indifference that bordered on derision.

At the same time the court of Lisbon, pretending to be ignorant that sovereigns, who hold the rank of their birth only, and the dignity of their crown, can never permit, under any pretext, any potentate to attempt to infringe prerogatives and rights belonging to the antiquity and majesty of their throne, hath pretended to establish, without distinction, an alternative of precedence between all the ambassadors and foreign ministers about the king of Portugal. The King, being informed by his ambassador, of the notification that had been made to him of this extraordinary and unexampled regulation, signified in writing to the most Faithful King his just dissatisfaction; and his Majesty declared, that he would never suffer any attempt to be made to diminish the right essentially inherent in the representative character, with which he is pleased to honour his ambassadors and ministers.

However justly the King was authorised to express, at that time, his displeasure on account of these grievances, and several other subjects of complaint which he had received from the court of Portugal, his Majesty contented himself with recalling his ambassador, and continued to keep up a correspondence with the most Faithful King, which he very sincerely desired to render more intimate and more lasting.

That prince, therefore, can only blame himself for the calamities of a war, which he ought, on every account, to have avoided, and which he hath been the first to declare.

His offers to observe an exact neutrality might have been listened to by the King and the Catholic King, if past experience had not taught them to guard against the illusion and danger of such proposals.

In the beginning of the present century, the court of Lisbon was very forward to acknowledge king Philip V. of glorious memory,

mory, and contracted formal engagements with France and Spain: Peter II. who at that time filled the throne of Portugal, seemed to enter cordially into the alliance of the two crowns: But after dissembling his secret intentions for three years, he broke all his promises, and the neutrality which he had afterwards solicited, and which, in a letter to the republic of the united provinces he had even advised her to embrace, and joined the enemies of France and Spain. The same confidence, and the same security, on the part of the two crowns, in the present state of things, would undoubtedly have been followed by the like defection in the court of Lisbon.

United to the Catholic King by indissoluble sentiments of tender friendship and common interests, the King hopes that their united efforts will be favoured by the God of Hosts, and will in the end compel the King of Portugal to conduct himself on principles more conformable to sound policy, the good of his people, and the ties of blood which unite him to his Majesty and his Catholic Majesty.

The King commands and enjoins all his subjects, vassals, and servants, to fall upon the subjects of the King of Portugal; and expressly prohibits them from having any communication, commerce, or intelligence with them, on pain of death; and accordingly his Majesty hath from this day revoked, and hereby revokes, all licences, passports, safe-guards, and safe-conducts, contrary to these presents, that may have been granted by him or his lieutenant-generals, and other officers; declaring them null and void, and of no effect; and forbidding all persons to pay any regard thereto. And whereas, in contempt of the XVth Article of the Treaty of Peace between France and Portugal, signed at Utrecht, April 11, 1713, (and by which it is expressly stipulated, 'That in case of a rupture between the two crowns, the space of six months after the said rupture shall be granted their subjects respectively to sell or remove their effects, and withdraw their persons if they think fit') the King of Portugal hath just now ordered, that all the French who are in his kingdom should leave it in the space of fifteen days, and that their effects should be confiscated and sequestrated; his Majesty, by way of just reprisals, commands, that all the Portuguese in his dominions shall, in like manner, leave them within the space of fifteen days from the date hereof, and that all their effects shall be confiscated.

Versailles, June 20, 1762.

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Family connections, and the various distresses of Portugal, ought to have moderated the designs against that kingdom. A fatal earthquake; a daring and wicked attempt upon the life of the sovereign; the very dreadful punishments afterwards inflicted upon the noble families which were concerned in that attempt; the expulsion, and total ruin, of the jesuits; all these working together, had weakened, to a great degree, that reciprocal affection and confidence which constitute the true happiness of prince and people. In this ferment of men's minds, the consequence of an irruption on the part of Spain, was dubious. Such an irruption, unprovoked and cruel as it was, might have given spirit and power to disaffection, or it might have called back the court and nation to their mutual interest, and have at least united a wretched country before it was subdued. Upon the whole, it seems to have done neither; the king maintained his prerogative, and the subjects abandoned the country to their enemies.

Great-Britain, ever faithful to her treaties, took care to send a timely succour of troops and officers to Portugal, in the month of May. With respect to the war between Spain and Portugal, we shall give a short account of the principal events.

The Spaniards on their entring into Portugal are said to have committed unheard-of barbarities among the small villages, robbing and murdering the inhabitants, setting fire to their crops, and not even sparing the sacred furniture belonging to their chapels. In the course of this invasion, they made themselves masters of Miranda; whilst the marquis de Sarria, commander of the Spanish forces, was preparing to besiege it, a powder magazine blowing up, determined the Portuguese governor to capitulate; upwards of 800 men were either destroyed by the explosion, or obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

They afterwards reduced Braganza, Torre di Moncorvo, and Chaves. They demolished the fortifications of Miranda and Braganza, and left a strong garrison in the others. On their retreat from Braganza, they plundered the college and church, as well as the houses of several of the principal people; whom, together with several priests, they carried with them to Spain. They also killed several peasants of that neighbourhood in cold blood. But his Catholic Majesty being informed of the sacrilege committed by his army, ordered all the sacred furniture to be restored to the bishop of the diocese, and that the churches should not be profaned.

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The Spaniards divided their forces, which were in the province of *Tras-os-Montes*, into three parts. The principal corps was encamped near *Miranda*; the second, consisting of 5000 men, at *Torre di Moncorvo*; the third, of the same number, near *Chaves*. Another body of eight thousand men entered the Portuguese frontier near *Almeyda*: This corps suffered by desertion, and its detached parties were often repulsed by the militia of the country. The summer months in that warm climate are unfavourable to military expeditions, and the Spaniards could do little more than chastise the peasants of several villages, whose natural aversion overcame the oath of obedience which they had taken, and who did every thing in their power to cut off the convoy of provisions designed for their camp. These, and the Portuguese companies, called auxiliaries, were easily defeated and dispersed. At length the Spaniards opened the trenches before *Almeyda*, a frontier town, in the province of *Tras-os-Montes*, sixteen miles from the Spanish city of *Ciudad Rodrigo*. On the 25th of August the fortress was surrendered, after a siege of nine days, and before a practicable breach had been made, by the governor *Alexandro de Pallares Coello di Brito*, for which he was afterwards put under confinement at *Coimbra*. Fifteen hundred regulars, and two thousand peasants, were permitted to retire with the honours of war, on condition of not serving against the King of Spain for six months. They found there eighty pieces of cannon, eleven of iron, nine brass mortars, and one of iron for grenades; seven hundred quintals of powder, and other implements of war, together with a quantity of ammunition and provisions.

As a counterbalance to this advantage, the count de Lippe, (who now commanded the British and Portuguese troops, lord Tyrawley being returned to England) caused *Valencia'd Alcantara* to be attacked by the British troops. Brigadier-general Burgoine, who was appointed to this brave exploit, ordered part of his regiment of light dragoons to push into the town sword in hand. The attack was so brisk and sudden, that the guards in the square were all killed, or taken prisoners, before they could use their arms. After the body of the English regiment was come up, and formed in the square, some desperate parties attempted an attack; but all of them were destroyed, or taken. The general gave no quarter to those who fired single shots from the windows of the houses: At last he forced some priests to go through the town, to declare to the people, that he was determined to set fire to it at the four corners, unless all the doors and windows

windows were instantly thrown open. This menace had the desired effect. Major-general don Michael d'Irumberri and Balanca, with his aid de camp; one colonel and his adjutant; two captains, seventeen subalterns, and fifty-nine private men, were made prisoners; the rest of the regiment of Seville were destroyed. Three colours were taken. The dragoons were sent into the country to bring in all who had escaped. A detached serjeant, and six men only, fell in with a Spanish subaltern and twenty-five dragoons, who were unbroken, and prepared to receive them; of these they killed six, made the rest prisoners, and took all their horses; an exploit which will be remembered to their honour.

The loss of the English in the attack of Valenca was inconsiderable; only lieutenant Burk, of colonel Frederick's, one serjeant, and three private men, were killed; but two serjeants, one drummer, and eighteen private men, were wounded; ten horses were killed, and two wounded. Brigadier Burgoine and colonel Somerville conducted the troops in person. The British grenadiers, under the command of lord Pulteney, since dead, dislodged the enemy's infantry from the houses, and captain Singleton distinguished himself in this affair. The Spanish officers themselves publicly commended the generosity of general Burgoine in handsome terms; and indeed the generosity and courage of the British troops, on this occasion, were highly worthy of admiration. This success would probably have been attended with more, if circumstances that could not well be expected, had not retarded the march of sixteen Portuguese battalions, and three regiments of cavalry.

The field-marshal, count de Lippe, on this occasion, in the orders of the day, August 29, declares, that "he thinks it his duty to acquaint the army with the glorious conduct of general Burgoine, who, after having marched fifteen leagues without halting, had taken Valenca sword in hand, made the general, who was to have invaded Alentejo, prisoner, destroyed the Spanish regiment of Seville, taken three standards, a colonel, many officers of distinction, and a great number of soldiers, prisoners. The marshal makes no doubt but the whole army will rejoice at this event, and that every one will, in proportion to his rank, strive to imitate so glorious an example."

The marquis de Sarria had hitherto commanded the Spanish army, but having solicited and obtained his dismissal, with the order of the golden fleece in recompence of his past services, he was succeeded in his post of general by the count

d'Aranda. The Portuguese on the 28th of September abandoned Celorico. The Spaniards afterwards took possession of Penamacor, Salvaterra, and Segura. In Salvaterra there was a garrison of upwards of four hundred men, who capitulated on the condition of not serving against the King of Spain, or his allies, for the term of six months.

The Spaniards, early in October, also made themselves masters of the defile of St. Simon, and of Villa Velha, a Moorish castle near the Tagus. Brigadier Burgoine for some time supported the latter fortress across the river. The garrison, consisting of upwards of three hundred men, surrendering prisoners of war. The Portuguese infantry, under the count de St. Jago, being obliged to file off by the road of Sobreira Formosa, lord Loudon, with four British regiments, six companies of Portuguese grenadiers, some light dragoons and Portuguese cavalry, brought up the rear guard, and kept the Spaniards in awe. The Portuguese grenadiers merited upon this occasion the approbation of lord Loudon, who spoke advantageously of them. Colonel Lee, between the 5th and 6th of October, with one hundred grenadiers, two hundred royal volunteers, fifty British dragoons, and fifty of St. Payo's horse, all under the orders of Brigadier-general Burgoine, marched up to a Spanish encampment near Villa Velha, which they attacked and forced, burnt some magazines, spiked up six pieces of cannon, brought off about sixty artillery mules, a few prisoners, and a quantity of valuable baggage. Lieutenant Maitland, of Burgoine's dragoons, bravely distinguished himself in this affair, and repulsed the enemy's cavalry. The British troops lost only one corporal killed, eight private men wounded and missing. The Spaniards, according to their own account, had two lieutenants killed, one colonel and one ensign wounded, one captain and one subaltern taken prisoners; the loss of their private men uncertain. Great commendations are due to the abilities of general Burgoine, and the resolution of the British troops commanded by colonel Lee, in this operation.

The surprise of the Spanish encampment near Villa Velha, as above related, effectually defeated the scheme they had formed of passing over the Tagus into the province of Alentejo; and the heavy rains which fell afterwards, obliged them to retire from Castella Branco, and to repass the mountains which separate the provinces of Estremadura and Beira.

Soon after the reduction of Belleisle last year, an expedition was set on foot for the reduction of Martinico. The preparations

rations were greatly interrupted by the negotiation for peace between m. Bully and the ministry. As that negociation proved fruitless, the expedition, which had been begun by mr. Pitt, and intended against Martinico, was revived by those who succeeded upon his resignation, with only this difference, the appointment of another naval commander. In the month of October, 1761, admiral Rodney sailed from England with a squadron of ships, having under convoy a sufficient number of transports. He touched at Belleisle, from which he took four battalions, and then proceeded to Barbadoes, where he was joined by a body of troops from North America, under the direction of general Monckton, who now took the command of the troops, amounting in the whole to eighteen battalions. On the 5th of January, 1762, the fleet, which had been joined by the ships on this station, and was now eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, &c. set sail with the troops from Barbadoes; and on the 8th the transports with the troops on board anchored in St. Anne's bay, in the eastern part of Martinico. In the course of this service, the *Raisonable* man of war was, by the ignorance of the pilots, run upon a range of rocks, from whence she could not be disengaged, though the men were saved, together with her stores and artillery. The General, however, judging this an improper place for a disembarkation, two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Haviland and Grant, were detached under convoy to the bay of Petite-Anse, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the seamen and marines. These brigades were soon followed by the whole army, and the rest of the squadron; and other batteries being silenced, general Monckton and the forces landed without further opposition on the 16th, in the neighbourhood of the *Cas des Navires*. The brigadiers Haviland and Grant had made a descent in the other place, and marched to the ground opposite to the Pidgeon Island, which commands the harbour of Fort Royal; but the roads being found impassable for artillery, mr. Monckton altered his first design. The two brigades, however, with the light infantry under lieutenant-colonel Scot, while they remained on shore, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and mulattoes, who had been sent over from Fort Royal; but they met with such a warm reception as compelled them to retreat with precipitation, after having sustained some loss.

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, which were spared from the squadron, the General resolved to besiege the town of Fort Royal; but, in order to make his approaches, he found it necessary to attack the heights of Garnier and Tortueson, which the enemy had fortified, and seemed resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The English commander having erected a battery to favour the passage of a ravine, or gully, which separated him from those heights, made a disposition for the attack, which was put in execution on the 24th of January. In the dawn of the morning, brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, supported by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced posts of the enemy, under a brisk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Rufane with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raised along the shore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, supported by the brigade of Walsh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if possible, to turn the enemy. They succeeded in their attempt, while the grenadiers were engaged in driving the French from one post to another; and this motion contributed in a great measure to the success of the day. By nine in the morning they were in possession of the Morne, or hill, Tortueson, and all the redoubts and batteries with which it was fortified. The enemy retired in confusion to the town of Fort Royal, and to the Morne Garnier, which, being more high and inaccessible than the other, was deemed impracticable. During the contest for the possession of Tortueson, brigadier Haviland, at the head of his brigade, with two battalions of highlanders, and another corps of light infantry under major Leland, was ordered to pass the gully a good way to the left, and turn a body of the enemy posted on the opposite heights, in hope of being able to divide their force; but the country was so difficult of access, that it was late before this passage was effected. In the mean time, the general perceiving the enemy giving way on all sides, ordered colonel Scot's light infantry, with Walsh's brigade, and a division of the grenadiers, to advance on the left to a plantation, from whence they drove the enemy, and where they took possession of an advantageous post opposite to the Morne Garnier. They were supported on the right by Haviland's corps, when they passed the gully, and the road between the two plantations, which they occupied, was covered by the marines. Next day the English began to erect batteries against the citadel of Fort Royal; but they were greatly annoyed from Morne Garnier.

On

On the 27th, about four in the afternoon, the enemy made a furious attack, with the greatest part of their forces, on the posts occupied by the light infantry and brigadier Haviland; but they were so roughly handled, that they soon retired in disorder. Such was the ardour of the English troops, that they passed the ravine or gully with the fugitives, seized their batteries and took possession of the ground, being supported by the brigade of Walsh and the grenadiers under Grant, who marched up to their assistance when the attack began. Major Leland, with his light infantry, finding no resistance on the left, advanced to the redoubt which was abandoned; and the brigadiers Walsh, Grant, and Haviland, moved up in order to support him; so that by nine at night the British troops were in possession of this very strong post, that commanded the citadel, against which their own artillery was turned in the morning. The French regular troops had fled into the town, and the militia dispersed in the country. The Governor of the citadel perceiving the English employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which he was commanded, proposed to treat, and surrendered the place by capitulation. On the 4th of February the gate of the citadel was delivered up to the English; and next morning the garrison, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war. Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were sent from different quarters of the island, desiring a capitulation: But the governor-general, mr. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he proposed to defend with uncommon vigour. On the 7th Pidgeon island, which was strongly fortified, and counted one of the best defences of the harbour, surrendered at the first summons, and obtained a capitulation similar to that of the citadel. It was agreed, that the troops of the French King should be transported to Rochfort in France; that the militia should lay down their arms, and remain prisoners of war until the fate of the island should be determined. These signal successes were obtained at the small expence of about four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loss of the enemy was much more considerable. The most remarkable circumstance of this enterprize was the surprising boldness and alacrity of the seamen, who, by force of arm, drew a number of heavy mortars and ships cannon up the steepest mountains to a considerable distance from the sea, and across the enemy's line of fire, to which they exposed themselves with amazing indifference. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Fort Royal; and

and a much greater number from other ports in the island, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in consequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other respects, were very favourably treated. Just when general Monckton was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, a very large and flourishing town, situated to leeward of Fort Royal, two deputies arrived with proposals of capitulation for the whole island on the part of mr. de la Touche, the governor general. On the 14th the terms were settled, and the capitulation signed: On the 16th the English commander took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood; while the governor-general, with mr. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, staff-officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked in transports, to be convoyed to France. The inhabitants of Martinique found themselves considerable gainers by their change of sovereigns; inasmuch as, together with the enjoyment of their own religion, laws, and property, they had an opportunity of exporting their produce to advantage, and being supplied with all necessaries from the dominions of Great-Britain; whereas, before they fell under the English government, their commerce was almost entirely interrupted, and they were obliged to depend even for subsistence upon the most precarious and hazardous methods of supply. By the reduction of Martinique, the islands of Antigua, St. Christopher's, and Nevis, together with the ships trading to these colonies, were perfectly secured against the depredations of the enemy; and Great-Britain acquired an annual addition in commerce, at least to the amount of one million sterling. While general Monckton was employed in regulating the capitulation, commodore Swanton sailed with a small squadron and some troops to the island of Grenada, those of the Grenadillas, and St. Vincent, one of the neutral islands, all of which were taken without the loss of a man. The island of St. Lucia, which is the principal and most valuable of the neutral islands, about this time surrendered at discretion to captain Hervey.

An insufficient and trifling force being kept in North America, the French embraced the opportunity of seizing Newfoundland; accordingly two ships of the line and three frigates, commanded by m. de Terney, with a body of troops under the command of count de Hansoville, slipped out of Brest in the spring, and on the 25th of June appeared off Newfoundland, where they instantly landed, and on the 27th obliged the town of St. John's to surrender. Every thing belonging to the fishery in this and the contiguous harbours

was

was entirely destroyed, and other considerable damages done. As soon as Sir Jeffery Amherst at New York heard of this affair, he detached lieutenant colonel Amherst with a body of troops, which being put on board some transports, sailed for Halifax, in order to join lord Colville, who commanded on that station; yet he had but one ship of the line and a frigate, until joined by the *Antelope* with the trade from Europe; for her captain on hearing of the disaster at St. John's, sailed away for Placentia, another harbour in Newfoundland, which the French had not ventured to attack. On the 11th of September colonel Amherst joined lord Colville, and as soon as possible, proper dispositions were made for landing the troops on Newfoundland, which was done on the 13th of September, near St. John's. The enemy were instantly driven from their out posts, and put to flight on every side. The French commodore seeing there was no hope of preserving the place, stole out of the harbour in the night, under favour of a thick fog, and shamefully fled before an inferior force. The town being now abandoned, the garrison, consisting of six hundred and eighty-nine men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The first event, this year which distinguished the affairs of Germany, was the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, which happened on the 5th of January, in the 52d year of her age, and the 22d of her reign. She was succeeded by Peter III. her nephew, and duke of Holstein. Her death delivered the King of Prussia from a formidable and determined enemy; as her successor adopted not only a different but an opposite system. Soon after his accession he agreed to a mutual exchange of prisoners without ransom, and to a general suspension of arms; he offered to sacrifice his own conquests to the re-establishment of peace, and invited all his allies to follow his example. By the accounts which were published of his early proceedings, he seemed, at least, to attend to the domestic happiness of his subjects; for he conferred upon his nobility the same independance which that order enjoys in the other monarchies of Europe; and he lowered the heavy duties upon salt in favour of the commonalty. Thus gratifying both the greatest and meanest of his people, he appeared to those at a distance to be strengthening himself in the hearts of the Russians, and to be ambitious of a popularity equal to that which had been bestowed upon any of his predecessors. This was only the judgment of persons at a distance; those who were nearer the scene saw nothing in his conduct but a blind precipitation in affairs of moment, blended with an uncommon zeal for trifles. The

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many errors of his government made it believed, that he was meditating the design of setting aside the great duke Paul, in favour of the deposed prince Ivan. A design of such a nature must have arisen either from extreme madness, or from some family suspicion, which it would not become us to insinuate. He had scarce made peace with Prussia, before he threatened Denmark with a war, on account of his pretensions to part of the dutchy of Holstein-Schleswick in Germany. He drove every thing before him with an extravagant and thoughtless rapidity. Instead of courting the affections of his guards, who had made and unmade the monarchs of Russia; some of these he slighted; all, perhaps, he affronted, by taking a ridiculous pleasure in the uniform of his Prussian regiment, and by placing an idle confidence in his Holstein troops. He was obligated to communicate with the Greek church; yet he insulted the rites of it, and distinguished the fast days by a large piece of beef. He had not the virtues of the private gentleman to compensate for the defects of the prince. His propensity to the northern vice of intemperance in drinking, betrayed him into a discovery of his ill-concerted measures; whilst an open disregard of the empress, his consort, confirmed her apprehensions of danger, and taught her to consult her own security. A conspiracy was formed, and he was deposed by the intrigues of his consort, who succeeded to the throne. Among the conspirators were, the empress, and the velt marshal Rosamowsky, Hetman of the Cossacks, whom the Emperor had a little time before declared colonel of one of the regiments of foot guards. The empress, in her famous manifesto published after her husband's death, brought a variety of accusations against him; she charged him with ingratitude to the empress Elizabeth his aunt; with incapacity; an abuse of power; a contempt of religion and law; a scheme to remove the grand duke from the succession; to settle it in favour of a stranger; and even to put herself to death. Thus we have seen a sovereign prince of Holstein, great nephew of Charles the XIIth, grandson of Peter the first, and heir of those rival monarchs, once elected successor to the crown of Sweden, actually ascending the throne of Russia, hurled down, after a short reign of six months, from all his greatness, by the intrigues of a woman and the resentments of a standing force, supported by the concurrence of an offended nation; leaving an important lesson to princes, of the instability of human grandeur, and of the certain danger of an established military power under a weak and capricious government.

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This very unhappy monarch died within eight days after his deposition. The suspicion of the world, warranted by historical examples, has concluded that his death was violent: Indeed it has been reported, that whilst he was great duke, a minister of state declared in words to this effect, 'That nothing could cure him but a black dose.'

Notwithstanding this revolution, the interests of the King of Prussia were not injured. The Empress adhered to the engagements of her late husband, and peculiarly exerted herself in bringing about a peace in Germany. The Swedes followed the example of the Russians; they made a peace with the King of Prussia in May, by which both parties sat down just as they begun. This monarch having now only the Austrians and the army of the empire to cope with, the Empress-queen could not hope for much from a continuance of the war: Yet her pride would not suffer her to condescend to offer terms of peace; therefore her armies as usual took the field. Count Daun put himself at the head of the Austrian army in Silesia, where he was opposed by the King of Prussia. Prince Henry of Prussia commanded in Saxony, where he had to deal with the army of the Empire, reinforced by a considerable body of the Austrians. This army was repulsed at the opening of the campaign by the prince's well-timed operations and compelled to abandon their posts, and fly into Franconia and Bohemia. The King of Prussia, having no enemy to distract his attention but count Daun, easily laid siege to Schwednitz; the trenches against which were opened on the 8th of August. The day after the garrison made a desperate sally; but were, after a smart action with the Prussians, obliged to retire without being able to damage any of the besieger's works. After this nine batteries were erected within three hundred paces of the interior fortification of the town, which played night and day with great fury. Count Daun finding he could not prevent the King of Prussia laying siege to Schwednitz, detached general Laudohn with a large corps to attack the prince of Bevern, who lay encamped with a body of Prussians at Riechenbach. The Austrians were greatly superior in number; but the Prussians making a most vigorous stand, gave the King of Prussia, who was informed of the action at its beginning, time to come to their assistance, which he did with a strong body of cavalry, dragoons and hussars, and falling furiously on the Austrians in flank, totally routed them with great loss, and made one thousand five hundred prisoners. After this defeat count Daun took no measures for the relief

of Schweidnitz; and the governor of that fortress hearing of the unfortunate event, desired to capitulate; but the King of Prussia refused to accept of any conditions, except surrendering at discretion: Upon which general Guasco, the commandant, resolved to hold out to the last extremity. The Prussians renewed their fire with redoubled vigour, by which considerable damage was done to the town in many places. At length, on the 8th of October at night, the besiegers sprung a mine, about which they had been employed several weeks, which took away part of the rampart, made a considerable breach in the covered way, and filled the ditch with rubbish. The governor seeing every preparation making for a general assault at the breach, beat a parley in the morning, and surrendered with his whole garrison, amounting to ten thousand three hundred and three men, prisoners of war. In this memorable and destructive siege above five thousand men were slain. The Austrians computed their own loss at two thousand men, and the Prussians allowed theirs to exceed three. The Austrians say, that many circumstances concurred at the same time to hasten the reduction of Schweidnitz. In the first place, they say, the garrison had bread left but for five days. 2. A bomb from the enemy falling on the powder magazine at fort Jauernick, blew up that fort, with about two hundred soldiers and several officers. 3. By this accident the besieged found themselves deprived of their powder, having only enough left to last them about thirty hours, at their usual rate of firing. 4. A great part of their artillery was rendered unfit for service; the touch-holes of some of the cannon being wide enough to admit one's whole hand. 5. The garrison were in want of money, insomuch that they had contracted debts in Schweidnitz to the amount of thirteen thousand florins. 6. The damage done in the works by the springing of the mine. All these inconveniences united, together with the inaction of count Daun, they affirm, laid the garrison under the necessity of capitulating.

In the mean time the army of the empire, in conjunction with the strong body of Austrians, re-entered Saxony, and compelled prince Henry, after some skirmishes, to abandon several of the posts he held there: Upon which the King of Prussia, on the surrender of Schweidnitz, left his army in Silesia to the command of the prince of Bevern, and putting himself at the head of a large detachment, marched instantly to the assistance of his brother. But prince Henry before his arrival changed the scene; for on the 29th of October

October he vigorously attacked the enemies near Freyberg, and after an engagement of several hours, notwithstanding his inferior force, gained a compleat victory over them, by which the town of Freyberg fell into his hands, together with five thousand prisoners and thirty pieces of cannon. The generals Stolberg and Haddick, who commanded the Imperial and Austrian armies, imputed their defeat to the treachery of one of their generals, named Brunian, who, they said, gave the Prussians intelligence of whatever passed in their military councils. As soon as the King of Prussia entered Saxony, he detached a large body of troops into Bohemia, where they exacted very heavy contributions, destroyed several magazines, and spread an alarm throughout the whole kingdom. His Prussian Majesty then artfully proposed to the court of Vienna, a suspension of arms for the winter between their respective armies in Saxony and Silesia. The court of Vienna agreed to it, perhaps not a little owing to the irruption he made into Bohemia. Accordingly the Austrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter-quarters; but no sooner had they done so, than a body of Prussians under general Kleist marched into Franconia, where they raised heavy contributions and numbers of recruits; in which they had a great advantage of the Austrians, for the latter could pretend to do nothing but according to law; whereas the former, being in some degree declared rebels by the empire, were under no obligation to observe its laws. In the mean time the Imperial and Austrian generals could neither assemble their troops, nor march to protect the empire, until they got fresh orders from Vienna; another advantage, which has often been of great service to the King of Prussia, and was upon this occasion the cause of his troops having an opportunity to spread themselves, without opposition, over almost the whole circle of Franconia, where they raised large sums of money; for from the city of Nuremberg alone they insisted on three millions of crowns, part of which was paid, and they carried off some of the magistrates as hostages for the rest. Beside which, they carried off from thence twelve fine brass cannon, and six waggon loads of arms and warlike stores. Even the city of Ratisbon itself began to apprehend a visit, and therefore applied to baron Plotho, the Prussian minister at the diet, to know from him what they had to expect, who frankly told them, that if they refused to pay the contribution, that his master's troops should demand, when they came to pay them a visit, they must expect to be compelled by force; but he had, before the Prus-

fians entered Franconia, declared to the diet in substance as follows:

‘ That as all his master’s declarations to the states of the empire had produced no effect, he was now resolved to employ more effectual means to make them recall their troops from the Austrian army; and was accordingly marching three different corps into the empire; one of which had already entered Franconia, the second was taking the route of Swabia, and the third would pass through Bavaria; and that they would every where conduct themselves according to the exigencies of war.’

Upon this some of the states of the empire secretly solicited a neutrality, which the King of Prussia instantly granted. Then the rest desired to purchase their security upon the same terms, which were granted likewise; and their troops were directly ordered to retire to their respective countries in order to be disbanded; great numbers of which afterwards entered into the service of the Prussians. Thus was the Empress-queen, by one well-conducted stratagem, deprived of the only assistance from which she had reason to expect fidelity. At this instant the courts of London and Petersburg redoubled their efforts towards effecting a reconciliation between her and the King of Prussia. The unhopeful prospect which the face of her affairs presented, induced her haughty and stubborn spirit to accept of the mediation. Conferences were accordingly opened at Hubertsburg; but her minister made his demands in such an imperious tone, that had he not been softened by the indefatigable exertion of British and Russian influence, the negotiation would have abruptly broke off. However, the province of Silesia, which was the great object of the war, is to remain with the King of Prussia as well as the county of Glatz, both of which are extremely fertile, rich, and yield large revenues. In lieu of which the Empress-queen obtains some inconsiderable places, which are annexed in situation to some of her dominions in the Netherlands. To this peace the court of Dresden acceded, in order to obtain some trifling indemnification for Saxony.

The French opened the campaign against the allies in the month of March. About four thousand of their garrison at Gottingen, marched out of that place, and on the 9th of March attacked some of the allied posts with tolerable success, obliging the occupiers to retire with precipitation. Soon after a skirmish happened between a detachment of the allies and this of the garrison, in which the latter were worsted,
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and from that time did not presume to stir out of their walls. In the month of April the hereditary prince of Brunswick was detached from the allies to lay siege to the strong castle of Arensburg, which was of great service to the French, as by it they preserved a communication between their army on the Rhine, and their garrisons at Cassel and Gottingen. On the 18th the Prince opened his batteries against it, and next day he compelled the garrison, consisting of two hundred and forty men, to surrender prisoners of war. These operations stimulated the French court to attempt something of consequence: Accordingly their grand army, which was this year under the command of the marshals d'Etrees and Soubize, was assembled in the month of June, and it was designed to attack prince Ferdinand the first opportunity. But the snare, which they were preparing for him, they fell into themselves; for on the 24th of June he found means to surprize and defeat them in their camp at Graibenstein. General Luckner attacked the marquis de Castries in their rear, who was posted at Carisdorf to cover the right wing of the French: At the same time general Sporcken charged him in flank, and obliged him to retire with small loss; and the two Hanoverian generals continued their march, in order to take the camp of Graibenstein both in flank and rear: Lord Granby with the reserve crossed the Dymel at Warbourg, and possessed himself of an eminence opposite to Fustenwald, and was prepared to fall upon the enemy's left wing: Prince Ferdinand passed the Dymel, marched through the Langenberg, and came upon the center of the French which occupied an advantageous eminence. In this critical situation, the enemy struck their tents and retreated. M. de Stainville preserved their whole army by throwing himself into the woods of Wilhemstahl, and sacrificing the flower of his infantry to cover the retreat. The grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, and the regiment of Aquitaine, suffered severely in this action. M. Reidesel intirely routed the regiment of Fitz-James's horse. The first battalion of British grenadiers belonging to colonel Beckwith's brigade distinguished itself extremely. Lord Granby behaved with his usual intrepidity, and had a great share in the victory. The loss of the allies amounted in all to six hundred and ninety-seven men, of whom four hundred and thirty-seven were British. The French retreated under the cannon of Cassel; and a great part of their army afterwards passed hastily over the Fulda. They owned the loss of near nine hundred men killed and wounded; and it appeared, that the number of
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their prisoners amounted to two thousand seven hundred and thirty-two. After the action, prince Ferdinand occupied Fritzlar, Feltzberg, Lohr, and Gudensberg.

While the French lay encamped under the cannon of Cassel, prince Ferdinand thought it would be dangerous to attack them in that situation, therefore the only measure he could pursue was to distress them, by cutting off their communication with the Rhine and Franckfort; and having received advice that m. de Rochambeau had assembled a corps near Hombourg, he ordered that officer to be attacked on the 1st of July by lord Granby. Elliot's regiment made the first charge, and was in great danger; till colonel Harvey, at the head of the Blues, passed the village of Hombourg on full gallop, overthrew every thing in his way, and came seasonably to his rescue. These two gallant regiments maintained an unequal combat till the arrival of the infantry, when the enemy retreated in the utmost hurry. The loss of the allies fell short of a hundred men; but that of the French was considerable.

On the 23d of July a body of Hanoverian and Hessian troops, commanded by the generals Zastrow and Gilsen, defeated part of the right wing of the French army, intrenched at Luttenburg under count de Lusace. The allies marched through the river Fulda up to the waists, they then clambered up a mountain, took four redoubts, and drove the enemy from those intrenchments. A regiment of Saxon horse was totally destroyed, and one thousand one hundred men were made prisoners, and thirteen pieces of cannon were taken; but this gallant action produced no consequences, for both armies continued in their respective situations. However, by these exploits it is certain the French were reduced to the utmost distress; for an army, which had been formed early in Flanders this year, under the prince of Conde, was now obliged to march to their assistance; but before they received this reinforcement, they abandoned Gottingen, after destroying the fortifications, and collected themselves within a small space round Cassel. While the prince of Conde was on his march, in order to join the marshals d'Etrees and Soubise, he was on the 30th of August attacked by the hereditary prince near Freidberg. At first the French were driven from the steep mountain of Johannes-berg into the plain below by the vigorous charge of the allies; but the grand army of France under the marshals d'Etrees and Soubise having sent a considerable reinforcement, the attack was renewed with vivacity and success. The allies, repulsed in their turn, were obliged
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to repass the Wetter. Here the hereditary prince was wounded in the hip, whilst he was endeavouring to rally his disordered troops, with an alacrity which is mentioned greatly to his advantage. Prince Ferdinand, better informed of the situation of the French army than the hereditary prince, marched with a considerable part of his forces, and came in time to prevent the enemy from pushing their advantage. Colonel Clinton was wounded; yet he continued with the gallant hereditary prince two hours afterwards; and did not discover his misfortune, till the prince desired him to carry an account of the battle to prince Ferdinand, which obliged him to acknowledge that he was rendered incapable of executing his commands. The loss of the enemy according to their own estimate, did not exceed five hundred men in killed and wounded; whilst they calculated that of the allies at about six hundred killed and fifteen hundred prisoners. A letter from prince Ferdinand's head-quarters mentioned only the loss of one thousand three hundred and ninety-eight men, together with ten pieces of cannon. The French, accustomed to defeat, demonstrated their sense of this victory by public rejoicings. The prince of Conde afterwards effected his junction with the French army, which now began to act on the offensive. On the 20th of September they made themselves masters of a redoubt and mill, on the left bank of the river Ohm, at the foot of the mountain of Amoeneburg. Next day they resolved to attack the castle of Amoeneburg, which was garrisoned by a battalion of the British legion, and a detachment of two hundred men from the reserve of the allied army. For this purpose, under favour of a thick fog, they opened a trench, and established their batteries against it. The stone bridge over the Ohm at the Brucker-Muhl, was guarded by two hundred men of Hardenberg's regiment, the greatest part of which were posted in a small intrenchment on the right of the bridge. The enemy were also in possession of a small one beyond the bridge. About these two posts there commenced a warm and bloody action on the 21st, which continued from six in the morning till dark night. A fire of cannon and small arms was kept up for fourteen hours on both sides with the utmost severity and the most determined resolution. There was no attempt on either part to pass the bridge. Fresh troops were reciprocally sent to support the posts which each maintained on the opposite banks of the river, as fast as the several reliefs had expended their ammunition. The mill occupied by the enemy afforded rather more shelter to them, than the redoubt did to the allies. Hi-
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story hardly furnishes an instance of such an obstinate dispute. The execution of near fifty pieces of cannon was confined to the space of near four hundred paces. The fire of the artillery and musquetry was not intermitted one single moment.

On the part of the allies seventeen complete battalions were employed, at different times, chiefly under the command of the marquis of Granby and general Zastrow. The total loss of the allies amounted to near eight hundred men. The French acknowledged the loss of three hundred killed and near eight hundred wounded. Next day the castle of Amoenburg surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners of war, to the number of eleven officers and five hundred and fifty-three private men.

Notwithstanding this bloody encounter, prince Ferdinand determined to close the campaign with some advantage of importance; and with this view, he, with the main body of his army, kept the French on the alarm, while he detached prince Frederick of Brunswick to lay siege to Cassel. This was the only place of real importance which the French held; therefore if that could be retaken from them, they had scarce one single advantage to boast of since their armies entered Germany in 1756. The siege commenced on the 16th of October, and was carried on with great alacrity. The garrison several times sallied out, but without being able to interrupt the approaches. The siege and blockade were so close, that it was impossible to get any thing into the town; where provisions being scarce, the garrison in a short time was reduced to great extremities. In the mean time prince Ferdinand covered the operations in so effectual a manner, that the French did not attempt to relieve the place. At length, on the first of November, the garrison surrendered, being reduced to the utmost distress by the want of provisions.

The first act of hostility on the part of Great-Britain, this year against Spain, was the taking a large Spanish store-ship, of eight hundred tons burthen, laden with cannon, powder, small arms, and ordnance stores for la Guayra. Captain Ourry, in the *Adæon*, under the orders of admiral Rodney, fell in with, and took her off Tobago. Captain Elphinston, in the *Richmond*, March 3, brought into the *Madeiras* a Spanish ship, called the *Il Castil de la Marr*, in her passage to the West-Indies. The Captain offered sixty thousand pounds sterling for her ransom. She had on board one hundred tons of Campeachy logwood, two thousand raw hides, and about seventy thousand dollars, besides indigo, coffee, and bale goods. This

This was followed by a brave action of Captain Joseph Mead, in the Fowey. On the 13th of March he met with the La Ventura, a Spanish frigate of twenty-six guns, twelve pounders, on one deck, and three hundred men, commanded by Captain Don Joseph de las Casas, on her return from the Havannah, from whence she had been sent with money for the payment of the Spanish King's troops at Porto Rico and St. Domingo. The Fowey had only twenty-four guns, nine pounders, and but one hundred and thirty four men, two of whom were sick, and incapable of service. However, Captain Mead began the attack, at about six or seven leagues from Cape Tiberone. The engagement lasted about an hour and an half, when both ships sheered off to repair the damages they had received. At ten at night Captain Mead bore down a second time upon the Ventura, and exchanged a broadside with her; but the darkness preventing him from forming a satisfactory judgment of her motions and distance, he made sail to windward, and kept his men at quarters, to observe her as closely as possible during the night.

On the dawn of the next morning, the engagement was renewed for the third time, when the Fowey went as near to the enemy as she could do, without falling on board of her. The dispute was long and well maintained; but at last, about half an hour after eight, the La Ventura struck her colours. She was at this time reduced almost to a wreck, and had received several shots between wind and water, one of which was afterwards discovered to have penetrated into her magazine; and indeed the Fowey was herself so much damaged in her masts and rigging, that she was obliged to undergo a thorough repair at Jamaica. When the Ventura struck, neither ship had a boat that could swim, or tackle left to hoist one out with. However, Captain Mead contrived, by nailing a tarpaulin over the shot-holes of a small boat, to get a midshipman and six men on board the prize, and to receive the Captain of the ship, the Captain of the soldiers, and six or seven more prisoners on board his own ship. The midshipman was obliged to employ good usage, and some art, to induce the Spaniards to assist him in bringing the Ventura into Port-Royal harbour.

In the above action, the La Ventura lost about forty or fifty men. The Fowey had but ten killed, and twenty-four wounded; two of the latter died soon after their wounds. The lieutenant, two mates, and twenty private sailors were in the harbour. The master got drunk, and disappointed

the Captain of his assistance, and the gunner was wounded in the first part of the engagement. Under all these disadvantages, the capture of so strong a frigate may be justly reckoned among the gallant actions of the war. This Capt. Mead, when he was an inferior officer, served under Commodore Moystyn, and was the inventor of a machine for cleansing a ship's bottom at sea, known to the sailors by the name of Mead's Hog. While he commanded the Crown store-ship, he gave repeated proofs of his diligence and conduct. He is likewise the author of, "An essay on currents at sea," for which he received the thanks of the lords of the admiralty.

On the 21st of May, Captain Sawyer, in the Active frigate, and Captain Pownal, in the Favourite sloop, took off Cape St. Vincent, and carried into Gibraltar, the Hermione, a Spanish register ship, of twenty-six or twenty-eight guns, bound from Lima to Cadiz, having on board two millions six hundred dollars, registered for the court of Madrid; the most fortunate capture which had been made during all the war.

Captain Crichton, in the Brilliant privateer, in company with the York privateer of Bristol, a sloop of 10 three-pounders, silenced a fort upon Cape Finisterre, mounting 2 eighteen-pounders and 8 nine-pounders; they struck the Spanish and hoisted English colours, sunk two vessels in the harbour, and brought away four others, laden with wine for the Spanish fleet at Ferrol: This gallant action was effected with the loss of but two men killed and twelve wounded.

Five transports, being part of the second division from New-York for the Havannah, having on board three hundred and fifty regulars of Anstruther's regiment, were taken, July 21, by two French ships of the line, three frigates, and six sail of brigantines and sloops, near the passage between Maya Guannas and the north Caicos. Two days after, the Pallas, captain Clements, attacked two Spanish chebecs at the entrance of the bay of Cadiz, one of which was of 34 guns, and the other of 24, and obliged them both to take shelter, with a considerable loss, under the cannon of their own forts.

The same month, the Chesterfield, of 44 guns, and four transports, ran on Cayo Confite, the entrance of the Bahama streights, on the Cuba side, an hour before day-light, and was stranded; but all the seamen and troops got on shore, and were afterwards transported safe to the Havannah.

In the mean while the new ministry were determined to reduce the Havannah; for which purpose a formidable armament was sent out under the earl of Albermarle and admiral Sir George

George Pococke, who having contributed by his valour towards that sovereignty which his country had obtained in the East Indies, was now chosen to extend it's empire and it's honour in the West.

They sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March, the day on which the Grenades were surrendered. A fleet had sailed from Martinico under the command of that spirited and intelligent officer, Sir James Douglas, in order to reinforce them. The squadrons very happily met, without delay or dispersion, at Cape Nicholas, the north-west point of Hispaniola, on the 27th of May. After this junction, the armament amounted to nineteen ships of the line; eighteen small vessels of war; and near one hundred and fifty transports, which conveyed about ten thousand land forces. A supply of four thousand had been ordered from New-York, and was expected to join them very near as early as they could be supposed able to commence their operations.

There were two choices before the admiral for his course to the Havannah. The first and most obvious was the common way, to keep to the south of Cuba, and fall into the track of the galleons. But this, though by much the safest, would prove by far the most tedious passage; and delays, above all things, were to be avoided, as the success of the whole enterprise would probably depend upon it's being in forwardness before the hurricane season came on. He therefore resolved to run along the northern shore of that island, pursuing his course from east to west through a narrow passage, not less than seven hundred miles in length, called the Old Streights of Bahama.

This passage, through almost the whole of it's extent, is bounded on the right and left by the most dangerous sands and shoals, which render the navigation so hazardous, that it has usually been avoided by single and small vessels. There was no pilot in the fleet whose experience could be depended on to conduct them safely through it. The Admiral, however, determined on this passage; and being provided with a good chart of Lord Anson's, he resolved to trust to his own sagacity, conduct, and vigilance, to carry safely through those streights a fleet of near two hundred sail. So bold an attempt had never been made; but every precaution was taken to guard this boldness from the imputation of temerity. A vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, and, when returned, was ordered to take the lead; some frigates followed; sloops and boats were stationed on the right and left on the shallows, with well adapted signals both for the day and the

night. The fleet moved on in seven divisions ; and being favoured with pleasant weather, and secured by the admirable dispositions which were made, they, without the smallest loss or interruption, got clear through this perilous passage on the 5th of June, having entered it on the 27th of May.

The Havannah, the object of their long voyage, and of so many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. This place is not denominated the capital of Cuba : St. Jago, situated at the south-east part of the Island, has that title : But the Havannah, though the second in rank, is the first in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour, upon which it stands, is, in every respect, one of the best in the West-Indies, and perhaps in the world. It is entered by a narrow passage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large basin, forming three large creeks ; and is sufficient, in extent and depth, to contain a thousand sail of the largest ships, having almost throughout six fathom water, and being perfectly covered from every wind. In this port the rich fleets from the several parts of the Spanish West Indies, called the Galleons and the Flota, assemble, before they finally set out on their voyage for Europe.

This circumstance has rendered the Havannah one of the most opulent, flourishing, and populous cities in that part of the world. Great care was taken to fortify and secure a place, which, by being the center of so rich a commerce, would naturally become the fairest mark for the attempts of an enemy. The narrow entrance into this harbour is secured on one side by a very strong fort, called the Moro, built upon a projecting point of land : On the other, it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The town itself, which is situated to the westward of the entrance of the harbour, and opposite to the Moro fort, is surrounded by a good rampart, flanked with bastions, and covered with a ditch.

The Spaniards, who had been for some time preparing for war, had formed a considerable navy in the West Indies : This fleet, which was near twenty sail, mostly of the line, lay at this time in the basin of the Havannah ; but they had not, it seems, when our armament appeared before the port, received any authentic account from their court concerning the commencement of hostilities between the two nations.

Whether the Spaniards were rendered inactive by the want of instructions ; whether all their ships were not in fighting condition ; or whatever else was the cause, this fleet lay quiet in the harbour. If some of the above reasons did not oppose, it may be very rationally supposed, that their best way would

would have been to come out and fight our squadron. They were not very far from an equality; and though the issue of a battle might have proved unfavourable to them, yet a battle tolerably maintained would have much disabled our armament, and perhaps have been a means of preventing the success of the whole enterprize. The loss of their fleet in this way might possibly have saved the city; but, the city once taken, nothing could possibly save the fleet. It is true, they much trusted, and not wholly without reason, to the strength of the place, and to those astonishing difficulties which attend all military operations, that are drawn out to any length in this unhealthy climate. In other respects, they were very far from being deficient in proper measures for their defence. They had laid a strong boom across the mouth of the harbour; and almost the only use they made of their shipping, in the defence of the place, was to sink three of them behind this boom.

When all things were in readiness for landing, the admiral, with a great part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, in order to draw the enemy's attention from the true object, and made a feint, as if he intended to land upon that side; while commodore Keppel and Capt. Harvey, commanding a detachment of the squadron, approached the shore to the eastward of the harbour, and effected a landing there in the utmost order, without any opposition, having previously silenced a small fort, which might have given some disturbance.

The principal body of the army was destined to act upon this side. It was divided into two corps; one of which was advanced a considerable way in the country, towards the south-east of the harbour, in order to cover the siege, and to secure our parties employed in watering and procuring provisions. This corps was commanded by general Elliot. The other was immediately occupied in the attack on Fort Moro, to the reduction of which the efforts of the English were principally directed, as the Moro commanded the town and the entrance of the harbour. This attack was conducted by general Keppel. To make a diversion in favour of this grand operation, a detachment, under colonel How, was encamped to the westward of the town. This body cut off the communication between the town and the country, and kept the enemy's attention divided. Such was the disposition of the land forces during the whole siege, and it was impossible to find a better,

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The hardships which the English army sustained, in carrying on the siege of the Moro, are almost inexpressible: The earth was every where so thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themselves in their approaches. There was no spring or river near them; it was necessary to bring water from a great distance; and so precarious and scanty was this supply, that they were obliged to have recourse to water from the ships. Roads for communication were to be cut through thick woods; the artillery was to be dragged for a vast way over a rough rocky shore. Several dropped down dead with heat, thirst, and fatigue. But such was the resolution of our people, such the happy and perfect unanimity which subsisted between the land and the sea forces, that no difficulties, no hardships slackened for a moment the operations against this important, strong, and well-defended place. Batteries were, in spite of all difficulties, raised against the Moro, and along the hill upon which this fort stands, in order to drive the enemy's ships deeper into the harbour, and thus to prevent them from molesting our approaches.

The enemy's fire, and that of the besiegers, was for a long time pretty near on an equality, and it was kept up with great vivacity on both sides. The Spaniards in the fort communicated with the town, from which they were recruited and supplied: They relied solely on their works; they made a sally with sufficient resolution, and a considerable force, but with little success. They were obliged to retire, with a loss of two or three hundred men left dead on the spot.

Whilst these works were thus vigorously pushed on shore, the navy, not contented with the great assistance which they had before lent to every part of the land service, resolved to try something further, and which was more directly within their own province, towards the reduction of the Moro. Accordingly, the day the batteries on shore were opened, three of their greatest ships, the Dragon, the Cambridge, and the Marlborough, under the conduct of Capt. Harvey, laid their broadsides against the fort, and began a terrible fire, which was returned with great constancy. This firing, one of the warmest ever seen, continued for seven hours without intermission. But in this cannonade the Moro, which was situated upon a very high and steep rock, had great advantages over the ships, and was proof against all their efforts. Besides, the fire from the opposite fort of Puntal, and the batteries of the town, galled them extremely.

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Inſomuch that, in order to ſave the ſhips from abſolute deſtruction, they were obliged at length, and unwillingly, to bring them all off. Even this retreat was not effected without difficulty, as the ſhips were very much ſhattered in this long and unequal conteſt. They had one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded; and one of the captains, captain Goofrey of the Marlborough, a brave and experienced officer, was alſo killed. The captains Harvey and Burnett gained, with better fortune, an equal honour, by their firm and intrepid behaviour throughout the whole operation.

This bold attempt, though it had very little effect upon the works on that ſide of the fort which the ſhips attacked, was nevertheleſs of conſiderable ſervice. The enemy's attention being diverted to that ſide, the other was a good deal neglected: Our fire was poured in the mean-time with redoubled fury from the batteries; it became much ſuperior to that of the enemy, and did no ſmall damage to their works. But the moment the Spaniards were releaſed from their attention to our men of war, they returned again to the eaſtward, facing the fort: Their defence was revived with as much vigour as before; on both ſides a conſtant unremitted fire was kept up, with a fierce emulation, for ſeveral days. It now became evident, that the reduction of this fortrefs was to be a work of time. Never, from the beginning of the war, had the Engliſh valour been ſo well matched: Here was at length an adverſary worthy of our arms, and our whole military ſkill and ſpirit was put to the ſevereſt trial.

In the miſt of this ſharp and doubtful contention, the capital battery againſt the fort unfortunately took fire; and being chiefly conſtructed of timber and faggots dried by the intenſe heats and continual cannonade, the flames ſoon got a head, and became too powerful for oppoſition. The battery was almoſt wholly conſumed. The labour of fix hundred men, for ſeventeen days, was deſtroyed in a moment; and all was to begin a-new.

This was a mortifying ſtroke. It was felt the more ſeverely, becauſe the other hardships of the ſiege were become by this time almoſt inſupportable. The ſickneſs, ſomething of which the troops had brought with them from Martinico, and which increaſed very much in this unwholeſome country and rigorous ſervice, had reduced the army to half its number, at the ſame time that it doubled the fatigue of thoſe few who ſtill preſerved ſome remains of ſtrength. Five thouſand ſoldiers were at one time ſick of various diſtempers;

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no less than three thousand of the seamen were in the same miserable condition. A total want of good provisions increased their disease, and retarded their recovery. The deficiency of water was of all their grievances the greatest, and extremely aggravated all the rest of their sufferings. The procuring from a distance this wretched supply, so unequal to their wants, exhausted all their force. Besides, as the season advanced, the prospect of succeeding grew fainter. The hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them, whilst they beheld this gallant army wasting away by diseases; and they could not avoid trembling for that noble fleet, which had rid so long on an open shore, and which must to all appearance be exposed to inevitable ruin, if the hurricane season should come on before the reduction of the place. A thousand languishing and impatient looks were cast out for the reinforcement from North America. None however as yet appeared; and the exhausted army was left to its own endeavours. Many fell into despair, and died, overcome with fatigue, anguish and disappointment.

But in the midst of these cruel delays and distresses, the steadiness of the commanders infused life and activity into their troops, and roused them to incredible exertions. The rich prize, which was before them; the shame of returning home baffled; and even the strenuous resistance which was made by the enemy; all these motives were strengthened by their interest, their honour, their ambition, and obliged them to exert every power of body and mind; none could imagine that it was this reduced and slender army, by which these astonishing efforts were made, and this extensive sphere of duty so perfectly filled. New batteries arose in the place of the old; the fire soon became equal, and then superior to that of the enemy. They by degrees silenced the cannon of the fort, beat to pieces all the upper works, and made at length a lodgment in the covered way. Their hopes were now become more lively. Some days before they had gained this grand advantage, the Jamaica fleet appeared in its passage to Europe, with several conveniencies for the siege. Not many days after this they received a considerable part of the New York reinforcement. Some of the transports in their passage through the old Bahama Streights were lost, but the men were saved on the adjacent islands.

These favourable events infused double life into their operations, in this advanced state of the siege; but a new and grand difficulty appeared, just at the seeming accomplishment of their work. An immense ditch yawned before them; for the

the greater part cut in the solid rock; eighty foot deep, and forty foot wide. To fill it up by any means appeared impossible. Difficult as the mining was in those circumstances, it was the only expedient. It might have been an impracticable one, if fortunately a thin ridge of the rock had not been left; in order to cover the ditch towards the sea. On this narrow ridge, the miners wholly uncovered, but with very little loss passed the ditch, and soon buried themselves in the wall.

It now became visible to the governor of the Havannah, that the fort must be speedily reduced if left to its own strength. At all events something must be done in this exigence for its immediate relief. Accordingly, before break of day, a body of twelve hundred men; mostly composed of the country militia, Mulattoes and Negroes, were transported across the harbour, climbed the hills, and made three attacks upon our posts. But the ordinary guards, though surpris'd, defended themselves so resolutely, that the Spaniards made little impression, and were not able to ruin any part of the approaches. The posts attacked were speedily reinforced, and the enemy, who were little better than a disorderly rabble, and not conducted by proper officers, fell into terror and confusion. They were driven precipitately down the hill with great slaughter; some gained their boats; others were drowned; and they lost in this well plann'd, but ill executed sally, upwards of four hundred men.

This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro; which, abandoned as it was by the city, and while an enemy was undermining its walls, held out with a fullen resolution, and made no sort of proposal to capitulate. The mines at length did their business. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch; leaving a breach, which though very narrow and difficult, the general and engineer judged practicable. The English troops, who were commanded on this most dangerous of all services, rejoiced that it was to be the end of labours much more grievous to them. They mounted the breach, entered the fort, and formed themselves with so much celerity, and with such a spirited coolness of resolution, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, and who might have made the assault an affair of great bloodshed, astonished at their countenance, fled on all hands. About four hundred were slaughtered on the spot, or ran to the water, where they perished. Four hundred more threw down their arms, and obtained quarter. The second in command, the marquis de Gonfales, fell whilst he was making brave, but ineffectual efforts to animate and rally his people.

Don Lewis de Valasco, the governor, who had hitherto defended the fort with such obstinate bravery, seemed resolved in this extremity to share the same fate with it. He collected an hundred men in an intrenchment he had made round his colours. But seeing that his companions were fled from him, and disdaining to retire or call for quarter, he received a mortal wound, and fell, offering his sword to the conquerors. The English wept with pity and admiration over that unfortunate valour, which had occasioned them so many toilsome hours, and cost them so many lives.

Thus the Moro came into our possession, after a vigorous struggle, of forty-four days, from the time the first operations had been begun against it. No time was lost to profit of this great advantage, notwithstanding that the sickness still raged like a pestilence, and that many new and great works were to be undertaken. Not only the fire of the fort was turned against the town; but a line of batteries was erected along the hill of the Cavannos, on the extremity of which the fort stands. By these batteries, which mounted three and forty pieces of cannon, and twelve mortars, almost the whole eastern side of the city was commanded from one end to the other. Preparations for an attack were also made, and batteries erected to the westward of the town, which on that side had hitherto been only watched. Some time before this, a part of the second division of the troops from North America had arrived; part had been taken by some French men of war, as before related; but those who escaped, came very seasonably, and were of signal service.

When those preparations were perfectly ready to take effect, lord Albemarle, by a messenger, represented to the governor the irresistible force of the attack, which he was ready to make upon the town; but which, in order to avoid unnecessary effusion of blood, he was willing to suspend, that the Spaniards might have leisure to capitulate. The governor in a resolute, but a civil manner returned for answer, that he defend the place committed to him to the last extremity, would and began instantly to fire.

To convince the governor that the menaces employed were not an empty boast, lord Albemarle the very next morning ordered a general fire from the batteries, which was poured from all sides, with such continued and irresistible fury, that in six hours almost all the enemy's guns were silenced. To the inexpressible joy of the fleet and army, flags of truce appeared from every quarter of the town. A capitulation ensued, in which the established religion, the former laws, and

and private property were secured to the inhabitants. The garrison, which was reduced to about seven hundred men had the honours of war, and were to be conveyed to Spain. A district of an hundred and eighty miles westward of the Havannah was yielded along with the town. The Spaniards struggled a long time to save the men of war; but this was a capital point, and wholly inadmissible. They also made some attempts to have the harbour declared neutral during the war; but this was no less essential to the completeness of the conquest, and was steadily refused. After two days altercation, they gave up these points, and the English troops were put in possession of the Havannah on the 14th of August, when they had been before it two months and eight days.

Although we have not pursued in exact order all the detail of the more minute operations of this memorable siege, we have dwelt on it a longer time, than we have on our plan generally allowed to such transactions; because it was, without question, in itself the most considerable, and in its consequences, the most decisive conquest we have made since the beginning of the war; and because in no operation were the courage, steadiness, and perseverance of the British troops, and the conduct of their leaders more conspicuous. The acquisition of this place united itself all the advantages which can be acquired in war. It was a military advantage of the highest class; it was equal to the greatest naval victory, by its effect on the enemy's marine; and in the plunder it equaled the produce of a national subsidy. Nine sail of the enemy's ships of the line, some of the finest vessels in the world, were taken, with four frigates. Three of their capital ships had been, as already mentioned, sunk by themselves at the beginning of the siege; two more were in forwardness on the stocks, and these were destroyed by the English. The enemy, on this occasion, lost a whole fleet. In ready money, in the tobacco collected at the Havannah on account of the King of Spain, and in other valuable merchandizes, the booty did not perhaps fall short of three millions sterling.

So lucrative a conquest had never before been made. But this immense capture, though it enriched individuals, contributed nothing directly to the public service. However, it might be said to contribute something to it indirectly; by increasing the stock of the nation, and supplying that prodigious drain of treasure, which for several years had been made from this kingdom for foreign subsidies, and for the maintenance of armies abroad. If it had not been for such

pecuniary supplies, with which the uncommon successes of this war were attended, it never could have been maintained in the extent to which it was carried, notwithstanding the increase of trade, which has been uniformly progressive for the last three years. It has in a loose way been computed, the success of our arms in the East Indies, independently of the great increase of valuable merchandize, (which used to be formerly the sole profit and advantage of the East India commerce) has brought into England, during the war, near six millions in treasure and jewels.

As soon as the news of a rupture with Spain arrived at the East Indies, a resolution was taken to reduce the Manilla. This is the seat of the Spanish government over the Philippine islands, where a prodigious lucrative trade is carried on, by the stationary ships from Acapulcha, over the Pacific sea, to the Spanish settlements in America. The troops collected for this expedition were only a part of that victorious army which had ruined the French in India, and struck terror through the extensive coast of Coromandel. To these there were joined some Indian auxiliaries, furnished by the gentlemen of Madras, and even two companies of French, who had enlisted in the company's service, after the ruin of their own affairs by the reduction of Pondicherry. Some hundreds of unarm'd Lascars were likewise retained to assist the engineers in working the artillery, &c. They set sail for this expedition on the first of August, under the command of general Draper and admiral Cornish, captain Grant, with the sea-horse, being previously dispatched, through the Streights of Malucca, to stop all vessels that might be bound to Manilla, or dispatched from any of our neighbouring settlements, to give notice of the design. Commodore Tiddyman had likewise sailed with the first division, under colonel Monson, two days before, to prepare for their watering at Malucca. The two divisions joined at Malucca on August the 19th, where a quantity of rattans being purchased, they were distributed among the ships, to make gabions ready for cover to the men when they were landed, and a considerable number were in great forwardness by the 27th, when they sailed again for their second station, off the island of Timon: Here the necessary instructions were given, and signals agreed on for landing on the coast of Luccania. By September the 23d they came to an anchor in Manilla Bay, and found the Spaniards quite unprepared, as this visit was not expected. That this fortunate circumstance might be improved, they resolved to lose no time in attacking the port of Cavite, as had been first concerted, but to increase,

crease, as much as possible, the confusion of the enemy, by proceeding directly to the grand object; not doubting but the conquest of Manilla would draw after it the reduction of all the Spanish settlements in this quarter. For this purpose they sent a summons to the town on the next morning, in order to increase the governor's consternation, while the admiral with the other officers took a view of the coast, that he might fix upon a proper place for landing the artillery and stores; and a descent was proposed immediately; upon this the boats were assembled, in which the troops and marines embarked and advanced under the protection of Captain King, in the *Argo*; Captain Grant, in the *Sea-horse*; and Captain Peighin, with the *Seaford*. The embarkation was form'd into three divisions, close under the sterns of these frigates. The left division was directed by Colonel Monson, quarter-master-general; the center, by general Draper and lieutenant colonel Scot; the right, was under major More, an experienced officer. It had been agreed to land near a church and village, called Malata, opposite the left division; and the other two, which at first separated to amuse the enemy, were ordered to join, at the proper signal, as soon as possible. About six in the evening they pushed in a line for the shore, under the direction of the three captains, Parker, Kempenfelt, and Brereton; this last had the direction of the boats. The three advanced frigates kept up a brisk fire to the right and left, both to secure the troops from being taken in flank and disperse the enemy, who began to assemble in great numbers, both horse and foot, and menaced the assailants with an appearance of opposition; but the fire having soon dispersed them, they retired, and left a clear coast; however, many boats were dashed in pieces by a prodigious swell of the sea, which likewise damaged the arms and ammunition, but happily no lives were lost; so that the troops formed on the beach, marched, and instantly took possession of the village and church, where, after fixing out-posts, they passed the whole night under arms, while the Spaniards contented themselves with only burning part of their suburbs at Manilla; so effectually had they been surprized.

On the following day, a fort, called the *Polverista*, which the Spaniards had deserted, was seized. This proved a most excellent place of cover for landing stores and securing a communication with the squadron. Colonel Monson was then detached with two hundred men to view the roads and approaches towards the city; in the course of this service he occupied the large church of *Hermita*, about nine hundred

dred yards from the city. The priest's house was made into the head-quarters, and major More was hastened up with the seventy-ninth regiment, to make good this post, which was of the utmost consequence, both for its strength and the cover it afforded to the troops from the rainy season, which had flooded the country sooner than they expected, though periodical in these climates, and called by the sailors, the Breaking of the Monsoons; because these periodical rains are confined to an extent between the tropics, where the Monsoons or trade winds blow; but to return.

The swelling of the surf at the places of landing grew more dangerous, as the rains increased, so that the landing of artillery, &c. became very hazardous, and the remaining troops were put on shore with manifest peril and some loss of men, among whom lieutenant Hardwick was drowned. But the courage and activity of the sailors overcome all obstacles; they got on shore part of the seapoys, some provisions, with what stores were first wanted; which service the officers in the fleet were indefatigable in forwarding, and captain Jocelyn was remarkably so. The marines were still at the first post in Malata, in order to be near the Polverista, and keep open the communication, as also to guard the artillery and stores; they were likewise of use, as occasion served in the course of operations, both officers and men behaving remarkably well. The rains had now forced our troops under cover of houses within reach of the enemies guns, which they began to fire with some success, as the besiegers advanced much nearer than was consistent with the general rules of approach observed in a siege; but this is an instance both of spirit in the troops, and judgment in the commanders; as the most danger was to be apprehended from the inclemency of the season, if either the men were exposed or the operations retarded, by scrupulously adhering to the rules of war. The Spaniards seem to have apprehended this, and attempted to deprive them of shelter, in setting fire to more of the suburbs, but were prevented by a detachment of troops and engineers, under captain Fletcher, who having penetrated, under cover of the houses, to St. Jago's church, near the sea, and within three hundred yards of the town, gave so good a report of its advantageous situation, that a body of men were instantly posted there, though almost contiguous to their bastions. These were soon fired upon by the enemy, but not with the perseverance and spirit proper to dislodge them; although a few men were killed and wounded.

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On the third day of landing, the admiral set on shore a battalion of seamen, who were commanded by captain Collins, of the Weymouth, captain Pitchford of the America, and captain Overy from the Panther; this brave corps of sailors was stationed between the marines and regulars. All the other troops were now landed and put under cover; this precaution was scarce took before the Spaniards advanced out of the city, under the command of the chevalier Fagett, who pushed on with four hundred men and two field-pieces, to a church a little to the right of that near the sea, which our troops had seized the foregoing day, and began a cannonade on that flank of the post. Some of the seapoys were sent to skirmish with them: They behaved very well, and were well supported by a detachment of regulars and one hundred seamen, all under the command of colonel Monson, who soon drove this party back into the city, with the loss of one of their cannon left on the glacis.

The superiority, both in skill and courage, appeared so evidently in favour of our troops, from this ineffectual attack, that the governor was summoned again; but an answer was returned which was more spirited than might have been expected from their dastardly behaviour. Upon this answer, colonel Monson had orders to keep possession of the church, which they had deserted, if he judged it tenable, these advantages seem to have been taken with some reluctance, both with respect to the erecting churches into fortresses, and transgressing the rules of war, in making such hasty approaches; but their situation was critical, not having a number of troops or dry ground to form trenches, and open batteries with safety, which forced them into this method of carrying on the siege. From the top of this last post they had a prospect of the enemy's works, particularly that part of them where the attack was intended. This was defended by the bastions of St. Diego, and St. Andrew, with retired flanks, a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, covered way, and glacis, or slope, towards the country. The bastions were in good order, planted with a great number of fine brass cannon, but the other defences in bad condition, and the ditch not continued round the head of Diego bastion; which determined the attack to that quarter. As the enemy had not placed centinels in the covered way, an opportunity was taken to sound the ditch, by a small party of the seventy-ninth regiment, under captain Fletcher, who solicited to undertake it; this perilous attempt succeeded, with the loss of three or four men killed and wounded, by the fire of the bastion; the depth
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of the water was only five feet, and about thirty yards broad. The extent of this populous city made it impossible to invest it with such a small army, so that two sides were constantly open, whereby supplies of men and provisions were daily introduced by the Spaniards, who had likewise an opportunity to carry off their effects; and the garrison of eight hundred men, under the marquis of Villa Mediana, was augmented by a body of ten thousand Indians from Pamphanga, a fierce, barbarous, and savage people: The inundations had likewise secured one entire part of the suburbs, so that the besiegers had but a melancholy prospect. But what cannot industry and resolution surmount? They soon prepared every requisite for opening batteries; one for shells, being ready on the third night from landing, which was opened on the bastion of St. Diego, nearest the last post which had been taken from the enemy's rallying party.

On the fourth day the Governor sent a message to apologize for some barbarities which the Indians had committed, and to request that a nephew of his might be sent on shore. This gentleman had been dispatched from the Philippine galleon, with the first advices of war. Hostilities ceased upon the message till night, when the fire again commenced with some additional mortars.

On the 5th day the governor's nephew was landed, and lieutenant Fryar was sent to conduct him, with a flag of truce. In the mean time, a party of the enemy, with some Indians, pushed out of the garrison to attack the post at the Hermita, by which lieutenant Fryar was conducting his charge, towards the ravelin gate. The barbarians, without any respect to his character, inhumanely murdered him, and mangled his body in a manner too shocking to relate; in the height of their fury they also mortally wounded the governor's nephew, who endeavoured to save the unhappy lieutenant: Our party at the Hermita received their on-set with great spirit, and repulsed them with some loss. As it was evident that the Indians only were guilty of this barbarous action, the troops shewed them no mercy.

The Admiral now sent in some ships, at general Draper's request, to second the operations of the siege, and more batteries were traced out; but the rains retarded their progress, and the absence of two ships with entrenching tools and sag-gots, was an inconvenience very sensibly affecting the besiegers. The Admiral remedied this as speedily as possible, by supplying smiths and carpenters out of the fleet, to make the necessary tools, which they performed with such dispatch, that they had a prospect of proceeding.

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By the beginning of October the weather was grown so tempestuous that the fleet was in great danger, and all communication with it entirely cut off. The South-sea store-ship was driven ashore in this storm; which accident was however of great service, as captain Sherwood was enabled to scour the whole beach to the southward; and kept in awe a large body of Indians, who menaced the post at Polverista and the magazines at Malatta. Altho' there was now both rain and wind to contend with, the batteries were forwarded by an uncommon perseverance of the troops and sailors employed on the works, till a communication was made from the St. Jago post to the battery, and a spacious place of arms towards the sea on the left; this was the sooner erected, as the roaring of the waves prevented the enemy from hearing our workmen at night. The Spaniards gave them no interruption now, but seemed to trust entirely to the inclement season; and the Archbishop gave out, *that the Angel of the LORD was gone forth to destroy the English as the army of Sennacherib*; but the event did not answer to his rash prediction; and the sailors were as active as ever, even during the storm which was to have ruined the army; a proof, that they were under a more happy enthusiasm for the honour of their native country.

On the 3d of October the weather grew more moderate, and now a good battery was opened against the left face of Diego bastion. One hundred brave sailors assisted in the working of it; and it was served with uncommon spirit, by the corps of artillery, under the direction of major Barker and other good engineers; so that twelve guns in the bastion were silenced in a few hours, and the Spaniards driven from them, while other batteries, in concert with this, did considerable damage to the works of which this bastion was composed.

On the next morning, before day, one thousand Indians attacked the quarter where the sailors were stationed. Encouraged to this attempt, by the incessant rains, which they imagined had rendered fire-arms useless. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick bushes, which grew near a rivulet. This they had passed in the night and eluded the vigilance of our patrolling scouts. Colonel Monson and captain Fletcher, with the picked men, were dispatched to assist the brave tars, who very sensibly contented themselves with standing on the defensive in their posts till break of day, when a fresh party of the seventy-ninth regiment appearing on the right flank of the Savages, they fled, were pursued, and dispersed with the loss of three hundred of them. This

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attack might have been fatal, if either the skill or weapons of the savages had been equal to their strength and ferocity. Armed chiefly with bows, arrows, and lances, they advanced to the very muzzles of the soldiers pieces, and repeated their assaults, dying like wild beasts, foaming and seizing the bayonets with their teeth. This attack was not without loss on our side; and among the slain was a most excellent sea officer, mr. Porter, captain of the seamen and lieutenant on board the Norwich, sincerely and deservedly esteemed by all who knew him, and as truly lamented. Scarce was this affair over, before they made an attempt on the Hermita post, with another body of Indians, and part of the Spanish garrison. The Seapoys were forced from that part of the church nearest the town, and the Spaniards took possession of the roof, killing and wounding many of our people, who were thus exposed to their fire. Notwithstanding this, the European soldiers maintained their ground behind the church with great firmness and patience till the enemy was dislodged. Their last push seems to have been made here, and they left seventy of their number dead in and about the church. On our side, captain Strahan was killed, and forty private men, either slain out-right, or very dangerously wounded. At this juncture most of the Indians went home, being discouraged with their losses, and the firing was resumed from the batteries with more spirit than ever, till all the defences of Diego bastion were quite ruined; and on the evening of October the 5th a resolution was taken to storm, as the breach was now practicable; and the necessary preparations were accordingly made against the following morning.

Early on the 6th of October, at four in the morning, the troops were put in motion; they kept filing off from their quarters by small bodies, to give the less suspicion of an intention to storm. By degrees they were assembled at St. Jago's church, observing a profound silence, and concealing themselves in the place of arms and the parallel defences between the church and the battery, which had been erected at first against the Diego bastion. Major Barker now kept up a brisk fire on the breach and works contiguous; all the other batteries were well employed to clear those places of the enemy. At day-break the Spaniards were discovered in a large body, ready formed on the bastion of St. Andrew, as if they had discovered the design, and intended to annoy the assailants with musquetry and grape-shot, from the retired flank of that bastion, where they had two cannon yet mounted; but by the explosion of some shells which fell among them, they were

were driven off. The advantage was immediately seized upon, and the troops pushed on to the assault, under a general discharge of artillery, and covered with a thick cloud of smoke, which blew directly in the enemy's faces. Sixty volunteers, under lieutenant Ruffel, of the seventy-ninth regiment, led the way, supported by their own grenadiers. The engineers, pioneers, and other workmen, followed close to enlarge the breach, and make lodgments in case the enemy had been too strongly entrenched in the neck of the bastion. Colonel Monson and major More were at the head of two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment; the battalion of sailors followed next, sustained by the other two divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment, while the company's troops composed the rear. They all mounted the breach with amazing speed and intrepidity; the few Spaniards on the bastion dispersed so suddenly, that it was thought they depended on their mines, and the troops suspended their attack for a short space, till after a strict search, this precaution was found needless. Little resistance was made, except from the royal gate and from the galleries of the lofty houses in the grand square.

One hundred of the enemy in the guard-house, over the royal gate, who would not surrender, were put to the sword; three hundred more, according to the enemy's computation, were drowned, in crossing a river. The Governor and principal officers retired to a citadel, and were glad to surrender at discretion, as the place was in no posture of defence. The troops were upon this put into immediate possession, and the marquis of Villa Medina, with other officers, were suffered to be prisoners at large, on their word of honour; add to this, the Indian prisoners were released, in order to conciliate the good-will of the natives.

The rejoicings on this fortunate event, were clouded by the loss of an experienced officer, in the death of major More, who was shot through the body with an Indian arrow, near the royal gate, and expired on the spot. Captain Sleigh, and some other good officers, were wounded, and thirty private men killed or wounded in the attack. By the terms dictated to the Spaniards, the port and citadel of Cavite, with their dependencies, several large ships, with a vast quantity of warlike and naval stores, were surrendered to the conquerors; but the religion, liberties, properties, and commerce, were reserved to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, subjects to the king of Spain, on condition of paying 4,000,000

of dollars, and giving their word of honour, not to serve against his Britannic Majesty.

During the whole course of operations, admiral Cornish had done all that lay in his power to assist and encourage the troops. On the 25th of September he dispatched three armed boats after a gally making the best of her way up the bay of Manilla. They resolutely boarded and took her, notwithstanding a smart fire from patteraroes, muskets, two carriage, and seventeen swivel guns. By letters on board, it was discovered, that she had left the Galleon, St. Philippina, in a certain station, and brought advice by the governor's nephew, as before related, of the war between Britain; the admiral upon this ordered two frigates after the Philippina; but the stormy weather hindered them from sailing till the 4th of October.

The Argo and the Panther had been appointed on this service, and now failed. It was the 30th before they came to the entrance of the Embrocadera, where the galleon was supposed to lie. Towards the close of day, the two frigates being separated a little by the currents, captain Parker, of the Panther (while the Argo came to anchor) discovered a sail standing to the northward, and gave chase; about eight in the evening he had brought her up to within two leagues; but getting into a counter current was in danger of being lost among the Narangos, and obliged to anchor. The Argo, having now weighed, got up with the chase, and escaped the danger, when captain King engaged the enemy near two hours, but was so roughly treated that he was obliged to bring too, and repair his damages. By this time captain Parker, taking an opportunity of the current's slackening, got under sail again. About nine the next morning he came up with her, and cannonaded her for two hours, within half musket shot, before she struck. The Spaniards made little resistance, seeming to trust to the strength of her sides, which the Panther's shot was not sufficient to penetrate, except the upper works. Captain Parker was no less disappointed, than surprized, to find, by the report of her commander, that instead of the Phillippina, he had engaged and taken the Sanctissimo Trinidad, who left Manilla on the 1st of August for Acapulcha, but had met with a storm, wherein she was dismasted and had put back to refit. She was pierced for sixty guns, drew thirty-three feet of water, and was reputed to be worth 3,000,000 of dollars.

The Spaniards had nothing to compensate these losses, but their fruitless invasion of Portugal, and capture of the Island
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of St. Sacrament, with the Portuguese garrison there, which surrendered on the 22d of October. The lord Clive privateer was likewise unfortunately lost, by taking fire at the attack of San. Sacrament, a Spanish settlement in the river of Plate. She had nearly succeeded in this enterprize; upon which her employers had formed great expectations, together with her consorts, there being nine English and Portuguese ships in company; but after she had burnt furiously for a-while, the vessel took fire and blew up, with most of her crew, and captain Macnamarra her commander; upon which, the other ships gave up the attack.

The Spaniards, as we have observed, had, to set against our conquests, but this inconsiderable loss, and we may add the French; for by the Family Compact both powers had one interest. This latter had triumphed in the ill-natured and mean satisfaction of destroying the fishing stages at Newfoundland, in return for the loss of Martinico, while we were enriching her subjects both there and at the other Islands, which had been wrested from her by the British arms; however, both powers hoped to retrieve their affairs, by the distractions visible in the British councils. A negociation for peace was now in great forwardness, which had been set on foot at the mediation of the Sardinian minister. This treaty they had the address to manage, in such a manner, that if our attempt on the Havannah had failed, it might be broken off at pleasure; and if it succeeded, they had nothing but the immediate loss to apprehend; as those in power at the court of London, were known to stand in as much need of peace as themselves, since the minister, who alone enjoyed the public confidence, had left them in possession of the royal favour, by a hasty resignation. This imprudent step has been ascribed to a spirit of domineering, and a desire of engaging the nation in new difficulties, that his skill might be seen to more advantage, in conducting affairs. But it should be remembered, that he had advanced a considerable way in an actual negociation with France, at a time, when she was to all appearances, compleatly humbled: That the terms which he proposed were moderate, witness the invidious parallels between them and those now under consideration; but the honour of dictating them, which he firmly and avowedly reserved to Great Britain in contempt of French chicanery, and of Spanish pride, was what those courts could never digest. Instantly the thoughts of peace were given up to personal rancour and animosity, from a sovereign power to a private subject, who rather deserved admiration; for being jealous of his master's honour

honour only, as the terms he proposed were truly moderate, his very enemies being judges. We would be understood here of such as being his country-men have yet industriously urged against him, in conversation and from the press, again and again, those calumnies which composed the substance of that Spanish memorial, calculated to inflame the nation, which it has done but too effectually.

Let m. Bussy enjoy a ridiculous triumph in his superior talents for intrigue; if a readiness to sacrifice every other principle to the interests of their grand monarch, is what constitutes the patriotism of a French courtier, he was a patriot in this light, and managed the embassy committed to his care, with all the address of a thoro'-bred statesman; perhaps, the French court never thought of treating in earnest; however it was, a prospect soon opened, which afforded an occasion but too flattering, for a man of his abilities, not to improve upon. He saw there were persons who envied Mr. Pitt the honour of having extricated the nation out of the alarming consequences which threatened her, from a series of misconduct very alarming. He first pointed out the way of conquest to her fleets and armies, and was then endeavouring, on the most moderate terms, to secure those advantages by a negotiation for peace, in which if he expressed a laudable zeal for the national honour, he had left France without the shadow of a pretence, to break off the treaty. With all this envied merit, there was a peremptory manner in mr. Pitt's conduct, which, with a little heightening, might be construed into pride; and his gratitude to the people, whose servant he accounted himself to be, acquired him a popularity, which was counted little less than factious.

These were the materials which the French minister had to work upon, and the first step was to exasperate him, by some demand injurious to the honour of his country; it was effectually done, by introducing the Spanish claims; we shall not call them romantick, as they cannot be supposed to be urged with any serious intent of being admitted. Mr. Pitt was shocked; but he coolly returned them, as inadmissible. He went further, and had the address to fathom the counsels of both France and Spain; to procure authentic advice of the Family Compact, while it was yet in embryo. Stung to the quick at such base proceedings, he heard arguments in favour of the Spanish claims, irregularly as they had been introduced; which the common enemy had put into the mouths of Englishmen, nay, persons who were in places of power and trust about the king's person, and honoured with his confidence,

confidence, which this faithful servant of the public was losing in proportion. He seems never to have aimed at engrossing the royal favour, for which he might be despised by men of intrigue; who consider nothing in a more contemptible light, than an open, undesigning and honest temper. Whether the earl of Bute was of this cast we cannot determine. Certain it is, that from the time of his coming about the King's person, Mr. Pitt found his measures clogg'd and misrepresented, till now, when he plainly perceived his services were no more acceptable. He was chagrined at the thoughts of this, and with an heart brooding over the Spanish insolence, astonished the King and council, with a proposal to chastise it, by commencing hostilities without any loss of time; in which rash measure he was only seconded by earl Temple.

A little consideration might have pointed out the impropriety of such a proposal, till it had been previously hinted to some leading members of the council, together with the discovery on which it was grounded. This precaution seems to have been neglected, probably, from a jealousy of the affair's transpiring, before some bold stroke had shewn the Spaniards we were not to be trifled with; besides, if the advices must be taken on his sole credit, they might dispute their authenticity; and whatever discoveries tended to establish their credit, would endanger his correspondents. Whatever was the case, he was positive in his opinion, and insisted on carrying his point or resigning immediately.

Unfortunately for the nation, he adhered to this resolution; and is said to have been most sensibly affected at the kind manner in which his majesty acknowledged his services when he resigned the seals of his department; at the same time he declared, that if all the council had been for adopting Mr. Pitt's motion, he should scarce have followed such precipitate advice.

Thus was both the King and the nation deprived of his service, by an unamiable positiveness, to which the most upright of men are liable. His majesty's royal bounty followed him into his retirement, which appears to have been the meer effects of beneficence, and a just reward of his faithful services; however it was some time before, even his friends, could be persuaded that he had not sold his country. A letter which he wrote into the city, to assign the motives of his conduct both in resigning and accepting the pension which had been assigned him, shews the concern he took to repel this slander; yet there was a dictatorial stiffness in it, which was improved by every scurrillity of invention, to represent him

as a gloomy, positive mortal, whom it was impossible to act in concert with. But the Spanish memorial soon following, with an avowal of the Family Compact, the threatened invasion of Portugal, and mutual declarations of war, between England and Spain, soon opened the people's eyes; they saw the measure which he had advised might have prevented all this insolence, and quenched the spark of contention, before it was burst into a flame. They were persuaded that he only could serve the nation effectually, while those who had succeeded to the administration found their measures thwarted; and their time took up, with securing their places, and introducing their dependants into posts of honour and profit, as a necessary ballance to one man's popularity, whom they durst not trust, after having patronised those incendiary papers which were calculated to insult him. He seems never to have been provoked so far, as to answer personally, resting his cause entirely on what had been advanced in the letter wrote to his friend in the city. But volunteers engaged in his cause and gave the ministry sufficient reason to think him well-supported. They were not out in their guesses; some of the first nobility began to murmur at the unbounded confidence with which lord Bute was favoured. They thought they had a kind of prescriptive right, to enjoy the places of trust and profit about his majesty, for their long and zealous attachment to the Brunswick family; finding their claims disregarded, they resigned in disgust, and associating together, formed an avowed opposition to the courtiers. These, with lord Bute at their head, made up the more numerous party, and did not want reasons to justify their conduct. They urged, that such abrupt resignations, were in fact, no less than to insult his Majesty, as they had done his royal grand-father. That this conduct had, for a long time, deprived the crown of the services which might have been expected from men of property, and abilities, who had all along opposed the court party. That his majesty was determined to dispence his royal favours more equitably for the future: That, in the choice of his servants, he was determined to use the undoubted prerogatives of his crown, and his confidence in lord Bute arose from his friendship for that nobleman, and gratitude for the great care he had taken in his education, which had given him opportunities of experiencing his fidelity. These arguments however specious did not satisfy the people; they wished to see mr. Pitt once more in employment. The noblemen in the opposition took his part, and a Paper War was formally commenced, by periodical publications on both sides, full of equal scurrillity, and

and personal, nay local reflections, till the demon of party, which had been laid asleep was conjured up to light and stalked abroad again, to the great terror and grief of such as reflected on what might be the consequences.

It is not surprising, when we consider what employment these disputes cut out for the new ministry, that they should use the means in their power to counter-act the opposition, by filling the chief places at court with their friends, whose dependants, would naturally find a way into the lower offices. A majority in Parliament was likewise necessary, to countenance their measures. All this business would find them employment, and exhaust all the powers of intrigue. Numbers of men were displaced who did not want abilities to detect any act of partiality; and from their acquaintance in the public offices, were well qualified to do it. Scarce an irregularity had been committed but it was circulated in print; so that the ministry were most perfectly embarrassed. It is astonishing to think that amidst these distractions Portugal should be succoured; the war in Germany supported; two such conquests as Martinico and the Havannah achieved; all in one year; not to mention the success at Manilla. But we were got into the vein of conquest, and they seem to have wisely continued it; knowing the least deviation would be severely scrutinized. In short, the opposition was against men; measures were conducted with a success, which might have done honour to Mr. Pitt. But what shall we say the merit of them was invidiously lessened, and it was found that even success could not procure them popularity. Perhaps they had all along despised it too much, and now began to see the people's want of confidence in them, would make it impossible to raise the necessary supplies. Peace seemed their last resource, and indeed they had no alternative but to introduce Mr. Pitt. This was impracticable unless they would give up their places, and leave the king, according to their way of arguing, in the hands of a faction. A peace was therefore resolved on, and they began a negotiation even before the Havannah was fallen into our hands; when they had little ground to imagine the Spaniards would hearken to reason, while both the French and Spaniards saw how they were embarrassed. They had in fact contrived to divide his majesty's counsels, and deprive him of a good servant; their design had succeeded, and they were now to reap the fruits of it, in a negotiation which they could conclude or protract at pleasure.

The parliament had been prepared by a speech from the throne, so early as June the 2d, to relish the intentions of the ministry, in negotiating a peace; and this desirable object was urged on those motives of humanity, which had drawn a declaration from the late unfortunate emperor of Russia, in February, to the respective powers at war, in order, if possible, to terminate their differences. The parliament was assured at the same time that vigorous measures were taken, so that Martinico had been added to our conquests, and the Portuguese in some measure protected, from the terrors with which an invasion by the united forces of France and Spain had alarmed them. His Majesty concluded with a just remark on the necessities of the state and the large supplies which were required for the war, contrary to his real intention, to lighten the burthens of his people, promising the utmost care should be taken in frugally disposing of what was granted. He then addresses the members of both houses jointly, professing the greatest confidence in their union, and cordial reception of his endeavours for the public good, hoping, that through their means the same unanimity of sentiments might be diffused among the several counties where their interest lay.

Though it appeared from this speech that the ministry's intentions were pacific, the people did not relish such a proposal of treating for a peace, as was here hinted at tho' very distantly. They thought Peter's declaration to the powers at war, of little weight, since his dethronement and fatal catastrophe. And it looked like catching at the first twig, to prevent drowning, in the violence of a torrent, which there was sufficient strength to stem; but we must remember that the invasion of Portugal was a serious affair, and drew even this pacific ministry into a fresh continental war, before they had finished another, which they had railed very freely against; though there was no comparison to be made, between either the situation, or capacity, of Portugal and Prussia, for supporting themselves, and annoying the enemy, yet they had both powers to support at once. Thus compleatly were they embarrassed, and whoever reflects a moment, must acknowledge they encountered difficulties, which had puzzled men as honest, and more capable of business than themselves.

We may instance in mr. Pitt, whose conduct their emissaries have made so free with. He was known to oppose continental connections, and yet the natural affection which his late Majesty entertained for his native country, forced him into them, if he would serve the nation effectually, otherwise

it would have been as easy to displace him then, as afterwards, and make a peace for Hanover, at the expence of our colonies. What was to be done then? He took the middle way, never losing sight of our interests in America, and only acting in Germany, when the king of Prussia's victory at Rochbac, opened a prospect of advantage not to be slighted. This conduct however has been ridiculed by his enemies, as quite inconsistent with his former principles; but raillery apart; the same persons had now undertaken the defence of Portugal, who had railed at German connexions, and they saw the necessity of observing treaties, by sending the stipulated succours, even when there was little hope of repelling the invaders, both from the nature of the country, the enemy's situation, and the greater expence of employing mercenaries.

Thus circumstanced, their whole hope seemed to center in reducing the Havannah; and they might be said to throw a desperate stake, as there was nothing pacific in the dispositions of France or Spain, to correspond with their design, which had but too much the appearance of making peace at any rate rather than give up their places. Advances had been now made towards a negociation, by an application to the Sardinian minister; the dispositions of France and Spain being founded by that means; those courts might now play their own game, and they made the same reciprocal advances, for fear of the worst; but never seemed in earnest to establish the peace of Europe, till the Spaniards heard of their losses at the Havannah. Then indeed the court of Spain began to perceive, that, notwithstanding the proposed conquest of Portugal, they had been made dupes to the artifice of France, and that the arms of Britain would be turned on their settlements, trade and shipping, while the French would have time to breathe. An uneasiness at the prospect of this began to appear among the Spanish Grandees, and the King of Spain, being now urged to treat by the French minister, replied with some disgust, 'That the loss of the Havannah was a sensible stroke on his honour, and scarce to be compensated by a negociation.' Indeed, according to the conclusion Spain had adopted, if the British nation was intoxicated with conquests before, there was little ground to think us humbled now; but many advantages might accrue from concluding the treaty then, which the court of France might point out to the Spanish monarch, after his choler had once been a little digested; these we presume our readers are sufficiently acquainted with by this time, and the preliminaries were signed in consequence, on the 3d of November, at Fontainebleau.

The people were not yet thought in a proper temper, to know what was contained in these preparatory articles, and various surmises were industriously spread concerning them. In the mean-time, the duke de Nivernois arrived here, and the duke of Bedford went to France, as ambassadors extraordinary, and with full powers to treat in behalf of their respective courts. The choice made on our part gave no little disgust to those in the opposition, from the known pacific disposition of that nobleman; and people were shocked with a fulsome speech which the duke de Nivernois made, *a la mode de France*, on delivering the credentials to his Britannic Majesty; it is sufficient to observe, that it was spoken in French, and printed by authority, with a translation subjoined; that it contained much flattery, and several prettinesses of expression, but it affronted the openness and common sense of Englishmen.

The Parliament, on their assembling, were promised, in due time, the communication of the preparatory articles, and were prorogued till a convenient season, when the first heats were subsided, in order that the articles might be canvassed with coolness and deliberation, according to some; or till the ministry were sure of a majority, according to others. That there are methods of procuring this, is past all doubt, though means too dishonourable to suppose any one directly guilty of putting them in practice. This dirty office must generally be ascribed to the party in power collectively, as all in their turns have practised it, and there was little reason to conclude that those who now took the lead had more virtue than their predecessors; for this noble principle goes on in an even and steady consciousness of its own integrity, without taking so many precautions to gloss over its own designs, and blacken those of others, as they had openly countenanced. Among the last, we may reckon their industrious persecution of Mr. Pitt, and to the first, a paper may be referred, which was called, *The sentiments of a Frenchman on the preliminaries*, pretended to be translated from an original, and industriously distributed in all the avenues of Westminster; a piece of harmless statecraft, if we consider that they were resolved in their measure, and only wanted to amuse the populace, till a majority had given it a sanction; neither can we imagine the ordinary management was wanting, when we remember this finess in politics.

In short, a majority of both houses approved the preliminaries, and addressed his Majesty thereupon; it was well for the nation that they did so, as sensible people dreaded every thing

thing from the unsteadiness of councils which must have followed, if the ministry had not been supported, when they had gone thus far. Add to this the terms on behalf of Britain were not to be despised, and his Prussian Majesty's interests only seemed to be left doubtful, which might be the effect of pure resentment against him, for acting so little in concert with the new ministry; but this was paying no regard to the public faith, and a direct insult on that jealous monarch too wantonly suffered, which he may one time remember. This may be at once seen by an inspection of the preliminary articles here annexed.

*PRELIMINARY ARTICLES, XIIth. and XIIIth.
compared, together with the FRENCH DECLARATION
respecting the XIIIth.*

XII. **F**RANCE shall restore all the countries belonging to the electorate of *Hanover*, to the Landgrave of *Hesse*, to the Duke of *Brunswick*, and to the Count of *La Lippe Buckebourg*, which are, or shall be occupied by the arms of his Most Christian majesty: The fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the *French* arms; and the pieces of artillery, which should have been carried else-where, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight and metal: As to what regards hostages exacted or given during the war, to this day, they shall be sent back without ransom.

XIII. After the ratification of the preliminaries, *France* shall evacuate, as soon as it can be done, the fortresses of *Cleves*, *Wesel*, and *Guedres*, and in general all the countries of the king of *Prussia*; and, at the same time, the *British* and *French* armies shall evacuate all the countries which they occupy in *Westphalia*, *Lower Saxony*, on the *Lower Rhine*, the *Upper Rhine*, and in all the Empire; and each shall retire into the dominions of their respective sovereigns: And their *Britannic* and Most Christian majesties further engage and promise, not to furnish any succour of any kind, to their respective allies, who shall continue engaged in the present war in *Germany*.

DECLA-

DECLARATION signed at Fontainebleau, Nov. 3, 1762, by the French Plenipotentiary, relating to the 13th Article of the Preliminaries.

HIS Most Christian majesty declares, that in agreeing to the 13th article of the preliminaries, signed this day, he does not mean to renounce the right of acquitting his debts to his allies; and that the remittances, which may be made on his part, in order to acquit the arrears that may be due on the subsidies of preceding years, are not to be considered as an infraction of the said article.

There was a manifest partiality in agreeing that the dominions and fortresses of other princes in Germany should be restored, and the artillery replaced in the same condition as before they were taken, while the King of Prussia's countries were only to be evacuated without any fixed time; so that they were more likely to be seized by the Austrians, in consequence of such an evacuation, than recovered by their own sovereign; and though the French and English troops were to retire from the seat of war, and leave their respective allies unassisted, yet the declaration of France shews, that under pretence of arrears, she would still support hers. We shall proceed to lay the DEFINITIVE TREATY of PEACE before our readers, without taking farther notice of the PRELIMINARIES.

The Definitive Treaty of Peace between his Britannic Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Spain, concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763, to which the King of Portugal acceded on the same day.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

BE it known to all those to whom it shall, or may, in any manner, belong.

It has pleased the most high to diffuse the spirit of union and concord among the princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inspire them with the inclination to cause the comforts of peace to succeed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which, having arisen between England and France, during the reign of the most

most serene and most potent prince, George the second, by the grace of GOD, King of Great-Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the most serene and most potent prince, George the third, his successor, and in its progress, communicated itself to Spain and Portugal: Consequently, the most serene and most potent prince, George the third, by the grace of GOD, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman Empire; the most serene and most potent Prince, Lewis the XV, by the grace of GOD, most christian King; and the most serene and potent Prince, Charles the third, by the grace of GOD, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries, signed at Fontainebleau the 3d of Nov. last; and the most serene and most potent Prince, Don Joseph the first, by the grace of GOD, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to complete, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpose, the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, viz. his sacred Majesty the king of Great-Britain, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, John, duke and earl of Bedford, marquis of Tavistock, &c. his minister of state, lieutenant-general of his armies, keeper of his privy-seal, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and his ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his most christian Majesty; his sacred Majesty the most christian King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Cæsar Gabriel de Choiseul, duke of Praslin, peer of France, knight of his orders, lieutenant-general of his armies, and of the province of Brittany, councillor in all his councils, and minister and secretary of state, and of his commands and finances; his sacred Majesty the Catholic King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, marquis de Grimaldi, knight of the most christian King's orders, gentleman of his Catholic Majesty's bed-chamber in employment, and his ambassador extraordinary to his most christian Majesty; his sacred Majesty the most faithful King, the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, knight professed of the order of CHRIST, of his most faithful Majesty's council, and his ambassador and minister plenipotentiary to his most christian Majesty.

Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, copies whereof are transcribed at

at the end of the present treaty of peace, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows.

Article I. There shall be a christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land; and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannic, most christian, catholic, and most faithful Majesties; and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places or of persons: So that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities by sea or by land to be committed, from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, and every thing shall be carefully avoided which might hereafter prejudice the union happily re-established, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: There shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or since, the commencement of the war, which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain, of 1667 and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679; of Lyfwick of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1713; the treaty of the tripple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of February 1715; and of the 12th of February 1761; and that of the 11th of April 1713, between France and Portugal, with the guaranties of Great-Britain; serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty: And for this purpose, they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word, so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their whole tenor, and religiously

ously executed on all sides, in all their points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: And all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to subsist contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

III. All the prisoners made, on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored without ransom, six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances, which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained; according to the attested receipts and estimates and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other: and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained until their entire liberty. And all the ships of war and merchant vessels, which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be likewise restored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes: And the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His most christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Arcadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the King of Great-Britain: Moreover, his most christian Majesty cedes, and guaranties to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Laurence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty, or otherwise, which the most christian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the most christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pre-

tence, or to disturb Great-Britain in the possessions above-mentioned. His Britannic Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: He will consequently give the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit. His Britannic Majesty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the most christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as is specified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton, as well as to the other islands and coasts, in the mouth and in the gulph St. Laurence) and his Britannic Majesty consents to leave the subjects of the most christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Laurence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great-Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coast of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the most christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of 15 leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia, or Arcadia, and every-where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VI. The King of Great-Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his most christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen: And his said most christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands, to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fishery, and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable
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foundations, and to remove forever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, and those of his most christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the most christian King cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great-Britain, as to those of France in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth: It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, inserted in the fourth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

VIII. The King of Great-Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the British arms; provided that his Britannic Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, or in the other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands, and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: And for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, to bring away their

persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannic Majesty and his most christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the said islands and places restored France shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been further agreed, that his most christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France, and that the merchandise, which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

IX. The most christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannic Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the fourth article for those of Canada; and the partition of the islands, called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great-Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

X. His Britannic Majesty shall restore to France the island of Gorée in the condition it was in when conquered: And his most christian Majesty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great-Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam, and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

XI. In the East-Indies, Great-Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown possessed, as well on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his most christian Majesty renounces all pretension to the acquisitions, which he had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, since the said beginning of the year 1749. His most christian Majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great-Britain, in the East-Indies, during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanouilly, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages further, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast

coast of Coromandel and Orixá, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for the lawful nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat Jíng for lawful Subah of Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations, or pillage, committed on the one side, or on the other, during the war.

XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannic Majesty, as well as fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the most christian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the said island and the said fort were taken.

XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and by former treaties. The Cunette shall be destroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the side of the sea; and provision shall be made, at the same time, for the wholesomeness of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by some other means, to the satisfaction of the King of Great-Britain.

XIV. France shall restore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Langrave of Hesse, to the duke of Brunswick, and to the count of la Lippe Buckebourg, which are, or shall be occupied by his most christian Majesty's arms: The fortresses of these different countries shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by the French arms: And the pieces of artillery, which shall have been carried elsewhere, shall be replaced by the same number, of the same bore, weight and metal.

XV. In case the stipulations, contained in the thirteenth article of the preliminaries, should not be completed at the time of the signature of the present treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortresses of Cleves, Wezel, Gueldres, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the British and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their respective sovereigns; their Britannic and most christian Majesties promise to proceed, *bona fide*, with all the dispatch the case will permit of, to the said evacuations, the entire completion whereof they stipulate before the 15th of March next, or sooner if it can be done; and their Britannic and most christian Majesties further engage, and promise to each other,

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not to furnish any succours of any kind to their respective allies, who shall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

XVI. The decision of the prizes made, in the time of peace, by the subjects of Great-Britain, on the Spaniards, shall be referred to the courts of justice of the admiralty of Great-Britain, conformable to the rules established among all nations, so that the validity of the said prizes, between the British and Spanish nations, shall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to the treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation who shall have made the capture.

XVII. His Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected on the bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the present treaty: and his Catholic Majesty shall not permit his Britannic Majesty's subjects, or their workmen, to be disturbed, or molested under any pretence whatsoever, in the said places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood. And for this purpose, they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines which are necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects: And his Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of those advantages and powers on the Spanish coasts and territories, as above stipulated, immediately after the ratifications of the present treaty.

XVIII. His Catholic Majesty desists, as well for himself, as for his successors, from all pretensions which he may have formed, in favour of the Guipuscoans, and other his subjects, to the right of fishing in the neighbourhood of the island of Newfoundland.

XIX. The King of Great-Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortrefs of the Havannah; and its fortrefs, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic Majesty's arms; provided that his Britannic Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands, and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island, restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion,

religion; or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: But as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty, that the number of English vessels, which shall have leave to go to the island restored to Spain, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholic Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks, or guards, in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing-places, and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which shall be found therein, shall be confiscated.

XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholic Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannic Majesty, Florida, with fort St. Augustin, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North-America, to the east, or to the south-east, of the river Mississippi. And in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic King, and the crown of Spain, have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; so that the Catholic King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannic Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries, above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: He will consequently give the most express and the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit: His Britannic Majesty further agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others, who had been subjects of the Catholic King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever

wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigrations, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: The term, limited for this emigration, being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholic Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects, that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his most faithful Majesty, in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France, and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery and ammunition which were found there: and with regard to the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, or in the East-Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformable to the preceding treaties which subsisted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be, respectively, and *bona fide*, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannic and most faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their most christian and Catholic Majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the twelfth and thirteenth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last. with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire

empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Desirade, Mariegalante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Great-Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great-Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the seventh article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great-Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the island of Minorca, by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: And according to the conditions of the sixth article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St. Peter, and Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The factories in the East-Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The fortress of the Havannah, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done: And, at the same time, Great-Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain, according to the twentieth article. All the places and countries of his most faithful Majesty, in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West-Indies, and of six months in the East-Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored, with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXV. His Britannic Majesty, as elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

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XXVI. Their

XXVI. Their sacred Britannic, most Christian, Catholic, and most faithful Majesties, promise to observe, sincerely and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten, their ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.)

EL MARQUIS DE GRIMALDI.

(L. S.)

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

ARTICLE I.

SOME of the titles made use of by the contracting powers, either in the full powers, and other acts, during the course of the negociation, or in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, that no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties, and that the titles taken or omitted, on either side, on occasion of the said negociation, and of the present treaty, shall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they shall conform themselves,
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for the future, to what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers, who are used, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the present treaty having still the same force and effect, as if the aforesaid custom had been therein observed.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not signed the present definitive treaty, their Britannic, most Christian, and Catholic Majesties, acknowledge, nevertheless, that his most faithful Majesty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expressly signed the said treaty: Consequently their Britannic, most Christian, and Catholic Majesties, respectively, and conjointly, promise to his most faithful Majesty, in the most express and most binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauses, contained in the said treaty, on his act of accession.

The present separate articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted in the treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten ambassadors extraordinary, and ministers plenipotentiary, of their Britannic, most Christian, and Catholic Majesties, have signed the present separate articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.)

EL MARQUIS DE GRIMALDI.

(L. S.)

DECLARATION of His Most Christian Majesty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE King of Great-Britain having desired, that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills, which had been delivered to the Canadians for the necessaries furnished to the French troops, should be secured, his most Christian Majesty, entirely disposed to render to every one that justice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare,

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that

that the said bills, and letters of exchange, shall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the distance of the places, and to what shall be possible, taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French subjects, may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange, which are in the possession of the new subjects of the King of Great-Britain.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister of his most Christian Majesty, duly authorized for this purpose, have signed the present declaration, and caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris the 10th of February, 1763.

CHOISEUL, DUC DE PRASLIN.

(L. S.)

DECLARATION of his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, with regard to the Limits of Bengal in the East-Indies.

WE the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the King of Great-Britain, in order to prevent all subject of dispute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, declare, in the name and by order of his said Britannic Majesty, that the said dominions of the Subah of Bengal, shall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon exclusively, and that Yanaon shall be considered as included in the north part of the coast of Coromandel or Orixá.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Great-Britain, have signed the present declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.

(L. S.)

Whoever has reflected on the operations of 1762, That the year commenced with a declaration of war against Spain, after we had sustained a war with France and her allies, for near seven years: That before the close of this year we had reduced

reduced Martinico, baffled the attempts of both France and Spain against Portugal, seized that treasure the Spaniards were bringing from South America, and at the same time by reducing the Havannah, opened an easy way to conquest in that part of the world: We say, whoever reflects a moment on this, must suppose the enemies of Britain were compelled to make a peace, wherein all those advantages were obtained, which the nation had been long seeking. But our readers are by this time sensible of that critical situation the ministry were in, and that it was no secret to the powers at war. We must therefore acquiesce in the wisdom of parliament, and the moderation of his Majesty, who was rather for securing the advantages gained already, than hazarding more; a temper much to be commended, considering the ferment of parties, together with his youth and inexperience. That considerable advantages were obtained in this definitive treaty, is not to be denied, whether we attend to the cession of a large tract of land on the back of our settlements, or the use which may be made of a fine country, almost intersected with lakes, where we may secure the fur trade without a competitor; whether we consider the security of our settlements there by a natural boundary, the river Mississippi; the liberty of navigating this in common with the French, or the compactness of the whole British empire in America, by the cession of both Florida's, and its farther security by totally excluding the French from Louisbourg, and the fishery up St. Laurence; so that they are absolutely cramped in this last article, of which they seem to have made a point. Senegal, which we have kept, seems to be of much more consequence than Goree, for though that last settlement has been represented as the key of the other, it was in fact, last reduced, without having been able to disturb our first conquest at Senegal, for a season, during which it was in the enemy's possession. As to what was restored there seems to have been some reason for it, more peculiar to the sugar-planters, than the public, and the arguments for giving up, or keeping the conquered islands, are so contradictory, that we can only account for them, by supposing, either side biassed by self-interest. Those who were for keeping them, having already acquired an interest in plantations there; and the others who argued for returning them, having plantations at Jamaica or elsewhere, which might be lessened in value on all the crops coming to market here. It is pity, however, but both sides had urged what was the best reason for reserving one of the capital islands at least; namely, the growth of Cotton for our manufactories; but perhaps the strength of
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of the plea was purposely overlooked by the capital merchants, who would rather have good prices for a commodity, than overstock the markets; certain it is, that this point was never urged home to the ministry, except in an address from Liverpool, which seems to have come too late. Upon the whole, the ministry acted firmly in this, that they secured what might properly be called, the National Object, and had given rise to the war, returning only what was thought of less consequence, till the interest of some overgrown traders was concerned, to raise a clamour, and palm it upon the public, as both the interest and voice of the nation.

We cannot dismiss this subject of the Sugar Islands, without taking notice, how weak it was, after the ministry had experienced the perfidy of both France and Spain, not to indemnify the nation, on such of their settlements, as were intended to be restored, by putting in practice the known rules of war, in an enemy's country; we would be understood, of enforcing such contributions as the inhabitants could from time to time be able to raise, on pain of military execution. The French had set us a pattern in Germany, which they had pushed to an extremity, even ruinous to themselves. The King of Prussia manifestly owes his existence to this measure; and if we had drained the Conquered Islands, of produce, as he did Saxony, of money, the French would soon have been in earnest to treat; on the contrary, we were treating them like our own settlements, and they reverted to the crown of France considerably enriched. With respect to the Havannah, what sums might have been raised by this measure, where there was specie to answer heavy contributions? But instead of this, British subjects were the only persons oppressed.

The pacific ministry, who concluded the above treaty, have been peculiarly unhappy, in suffering both by the opposition, and even by their own advocates, who betrayed the cause which they were to defend.

The opponents have been complaining, that we have given up conquests without an equivalent; and the advocates have lamented, that such conquests have been made: Our successes, on one side, have been numbered among our misfortunes, because they were supposed to render peace impossible, by producing such demands as could never be granted; and, on the other side, it has been insisted, that nothing should be given up. It may, however, be asked of one of these parties, whether they think that we should have been able to make peace with France upon terms equally advantageous with those of the present treaty, if we had not made the conquests

quests which they affect to regret? And of the other, whether we could have made peace with France at all, if we had not made the concessions of which they complain? That we could not have made peace upon terms equally advantageous, if we had been less successful, will scarce be denied; nor can any motive be assigned for our making a less advantageous peace *then*; than might *then* be made: That we might make a better peace, when our successes should be multiplied by a continuation of the war, is a position, however specious, not hastily to be admitted; our enemies could not, by our utmost efforts, be reduced to the necessity of consenting that we should keep all we should gain, because such consent would not produce them an equivalent advantage; and a perpetual war, merely defensive on our side to keep what we should gain, would load us with a burthen under which we should inevitably sink; and it is irrefragably true, that our conquests from France have very nearly reached their utmost bounds; little remains to France more than must for ever remain to her, in spite of all our efforts, however vigorous and persevering: And, if it is certain, that something more might be gained, and that what is gained might for a time be kept; it is also certain, that we might, by a reverse of fortune, not only be disappointed in attempts of farther acquisition, but have part of our present acquisitions wrested from us; we must of necessity grow weak by a mere exertion of our strength, too great and too long continued. There are certain concessions which the enemy will find it her interest to make for the advantages we offer; but there are concessions to which no immediate advantages will be thought equivalent; we have already brought France to that boundary, beyond which she can never be brought; less would not have brought her thus far, and more would bring her no farther. It is upon this supposition, that the most respectable assembly in the nation, in their address to his Majesty, have left it upon record, that they “cannot sufficiently admire that wisdom which seized the
“fortunate hour of reaping the advantages of our victories,
“while we were yet on the summit of glory, and before we
“had experienced any reverse of fortune.”

1763.

THE Definitive Treaty between Great-Britain and her enemies had an immediate effect in putting a period to the troubles of Germany; but the activity and address of his

his Prussian Majesty hastened that desirable event. He no sooner saw, that the pacific ministry were for treating without his concurrence ere he took measures for his own safety, by agreeing with the Empress Queen of Hungary, to a cessation of arms. She was entirely ignorant of his motives, and received the proposal as a natural consequence of the treaty now entered into by their respective allies; but that politic monarch, having once tied up her hands, separated his forces, according to a plan previously laid down for invading the countries of those petty sovereigns, who furnished the troops of which the army of the empire was composed. In these places he raised very heavy contributions, which were exacted with all the rigours of war, and no prospect of their being remitted, till their respective sovereigns signed a neutrality, whereby their contingents were withdrawn from the Execution Army, as it has been called; and hence there was no prospect of assembling it for the future, if the Empress Queen should continue the war, through her known obstinacy and inveterate enmity against him. Thus, by a masterly stroke, he levied incredible sums of money, and secured to himself the means of either continuing the war, or treating to advantage.

He seized the opportunity of treating, and seemed so sensible of the many shrewd turns fortune had shewn him, as to give all the facilities in his power, to terminate the war; among which we may reckon the peremptory manner he assumed of dictating both the terms of this treaty, and the time of concluding it.

The treaty of peace between the Empress Queen and the Kings of Prussia and Poland, was signed at the castle of Hubertsberg on the 15th of March; it consisted of the articles following.

*ABSTRACT of the DEFINITIVE TREATY of
PEACE between the EMPRESS QUEEN and the KING of
PRUSSIA.*

ART. **T**HERE shall be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and sincere union, and perfect friendship, between the Apostolic Empress Queen on the one part, and the King of Prussia on the other, their heirs and successors.

II. Every thing that has passed on either side, during the war, shall be buried in a general oblivion.

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III. Both parties renounce all claims on each other's dominions or territories (particularly the Empress Queen renounces all claim to those which were ceded to the King of Prussia by the preliminary article of Breslau and the treaty of Berlin) and also all indemnifications for damages suffered during the last war.

IV. All hostilities shall cease in all parts from the day of signing this treaty.

V. In one and twenty days after the ratifications of this treaty are exchanged, the Empress Queen shall recall her troops from all parts of Germany that do not belong to her, and evacuate and restore to the King of Prussia the county of Glatz, and in general all places which he possessed before the war, in Silesia, or else-where, and which have been occupied by the troops of the Empress Queen, or those of her allies; the fortresses of Glatz, Wesel and Gueldres, shall be restored in the condition they were in with regard to the fortifications (with the artillery) when taken. In the same space of time the King of Prussia shall restore all places belonging to the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, agreeably to the treaty concluded this day with that prince.

VI. All contributions, of what kind soever, all deliveries whatsoever, shall cease on the signing of the treaty; no arrears of any kind shall be demanded; all bills of exchange, or other obligations in writing shall be void; all hostages shall be immediately set at liberty without ransom.

VII. All prisoners of war, of whatever rank, shall be immediately restored without ransom on payment of the debts they may have contracted in their captivity. The states of the empire shall be included in this article.

VIII. The subjects of either party, forced to enter into the service of the other, shall be discharged.

IX. The Empress Queen shall return all the deeds, writings, and letters, belonging to the places restored to the King of Prussia.

X. The inhabitants of the county and city of Glatz shall be at liberty to remove with their effects, in two years, without paying any duty.

XI. The King of Prussia shall confirm the nomination made by the Empress Queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the excise, in the dutchies of Cleves and Guelders.

XII. The preliminaries of Breslau, June 11, 1742; the treaty of Berlin, July, 28, 1742; the *Reces* of the limits of 1742; the treaty of Dresden, Dec. 28, 1745, where they are

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not derogated from by this treaty, are renewed and confirmed.

XIII. The two parties purpose to settle a treaty of commerce as soon as possible; and in the mean time will favour the commerce between their countries.

XIV. The Roman Catholic religion shall be preserved in Silesia, as by the treaty of Dresden, and all other privileges of the subjects.

XV. The two contracting powers shall renew Art. IX. and the separate article of the treaty of Berlin, relative to the debts on Silesia.

XVI. The two powers mutually guaranty the whole of each other's dominions; those belonging to the Empress Queen out of Germany excepted.

XVII. The King of Poland shall be comprehended in this treaty, on the footing of his treaty of this day with the King of Prussia.

XVIII. The King of Prussia will renew his convention with the Elector Palatine in 1741, relative to Juliers and Bergue.

XIX. The whole empire is comprehended in the stipulations of the 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of this treaty; by which the peace of Westphalia, and all the other constitutions of the empire are confirmed.

XX. The allies and friends of the two parties shall be comprehended in this treaty: Power is reserved to name them in a separate article.

XXI. The ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged at Hubertsbourg, in 15 days, or sooner.

Hubertsbourg, Feb. 15, 1763.

Thus having brought down our history to the signing of the Definitive Treaties of Peace, between the respective powers at war; we shall entertain our Readers with accounts of the conquered countries, by way of Appendix.



A P P E N D I X.

An Account of the GOVERNMENT of EAST and WEST FLORIDA.

THE limits of the new governments of East and West Florida, being settled by Royal Proclamation, nothing more need be added on that head, than just to mention their situation, between the 25th and 31st degrees of North latitude, and between the 81st and 91st degrees of West longitude from London. By this situation, the whole country may be supposed to be exceeding hot, especially the southernmost parts of it, but these are thinly inhabited: The navigation is dangerous, and the country, is broken and unimproveable. The climate of West Florida, of which Pensacola is the capital, is extremely pure and wholesome; the natives are healthy and strong, and live to a good old age. The climate of East Florida is very unequal, and is chiefly inhabited on the East and West sides. St. Augustine, on the East, is the capital of this new government, and is a town of considerable trade, which doubtless will be much improved by the industry of the new settlers.

Sebastian Cabot is said to be the first discoverer of this country, and was followed eighteen years afterwards, by one *Ponce of Leon*, who in quest of the islands of *Boiuca*, in which the Indians affirmed was a spring, the virtue of whose waters was to restore youth, fell in with the land of Florida on Easter-day, in 1512, which, according to the Spanish phrase, is the flourishing day of *Pascha*, from whence it derives its name.

The soil of many parts of Florida is remarkably fertile, and may be cultivated to great advantage; and it is affirmed, but upon what authority we know not, that grapes may, with proper care, be ripened to maturity, and wine extracted from them, as in Europe; an excellence not yet discovered in any other part of North America. The sea-coast is every where flat, sandy, and full of shoals; and on the shore oysters are found in plenty, and the bays abound with fish.

The inland country is plentifully stock'd with cattle, whose hair is so fine, that, with a proper mixture of furr or wool, it is capable of being manufactured into hats or cloth. Horses are more generally used in these countries, and are cheaper, than in any of our other settlements abroad. The forests abound with wild beasts, the plains with birds of various kinds,

and the rivers with fowl and fish; and, in short, by the best accounts that are yet extant, there appears to be no want of the necessaries and conveniences of life; nor is the climate so intolerably hot as to affect the health of those who may think fit to settle there.

Cochineal and Indigo are among the natural productions of this country; and ambergrise is found in abundance on the southernmost coasts.

The native Indians of Florida are perhaps the handsomest people in America; their complexion is rather inclining to olive than copper; their eyes are black and piercing, their bodies robust, and their limbs finely turn'd: Their women swim the rivers, climb trees, and are in general so remarkably swift, that racing among them is a favourite diversion.

Before the Spaniards possessed themselves of Florida, the natives had a kind of civil government, the traces of which they preserve to this day. They were divided into petty states, who generally warred with each other, and who still continue the same practice. By the natural antipathy of these states to each other, and their propensity to bloodshed, any considerable increase in their numbers is prevented; but they are, notwithstanding, all together very troublesome neighbours, as they unite in an unfurmountable aversion to the Spaniards, and perhaps to Europeans in general for their sakes, owing to the treachery of the first settlers. The following instance will account for this prejudice: *Luke Vasquez, a Mexican Spaniard*, being in want of hands to work in the mines, formed a design of supplying his numbers by fraud or violence; with this view he fitted out two vessels, and landing on the coast of Florida, the uncommon appearance of his ships drew numbers of the inhabitants to the shore, whose curiosity was increased by the more extraordinary appearance of their crews: Two of these spectators, who appeared more enterprising than the rest, were inticed on board, and being entertained with the sight of all that was rare, were refreshed with wine, and feasted with meats seasoned after the European manner, and then courteously conducted on shore, and dismissed. This stratagem had the desired effect; the great men of the country came down, numerously attended, invited the Spaniards to their respective places of residence, shew'd them all that was rare in their country, gave them gold, and whatever else they admired as precious, and expressed the highest veneration for beings, whom they looked upon as visitors from heaven, infinitely superior in every respect to themselves. When the Spaniards had thus far succeeded, and had supplied their ships with

with provisions and water, they then gave a general invitation to the Indians, to partake of an entertainment, such as had been given to their two brethren. The Indians crowded on board, each eager to gratify his curiosity, rather than his appetite, and the Spaniards discovered a particular pleasure in obliging them; and, under pretence of increasing their wonder, they spread their sails and weigh'd up their anchors; and being thus prepared for their departure, invited them to feast. To engage them more effectually to partake of the banquet, they provided the most savoury meats; and having ranged their guests in the best order they could, sat down with them, served them with wine, and drank freely with them themselves, till perceiving they grew warm, they ply'd them with a more intoxicating liquor, till they tumbled down one after another, stupidly drunk. In this situation, the treacherous Spaniards coupled them together with chains, conveyed them into the holds of their ships, and then closed the hatches, and suffered them to sleep till they recovered their senses. In the mean time they put to sea, and, to the terror and annoyance of the spectators on shore, they wantonly discharged their broadsides in token of triumph, kill'd some, and dispersed the rest. The unhappy captives, when they awoke and discovered their situation, expressed their sorrow by the most piercing cries; many of them refused all sustenance, and obstinately met death by hunger; others pined away, broken-hearted; and many perished in one of the vessels that foundered in the passage; and the few that survived were dragged into cruel and hopeless slavery.

This act of treachery, however, cost the contriver of it dear; for Vasquez, allured by the gold, silver, and jewels, which he observed in his excursions into the country, returned to Florida in a few years after with a greater force; but the memory of his treachery remained deep in the hearts of the injured natives: Two hundred of his men were cut off in one night, some of his ships perished at sea, and he himself, impoverished and disappointed, died of a broken heart soon after his return home.

The Indians have some traces of religion, or rather superstition, among them, by which their actions are in a great measure influenced. Their adoration is paid chiefly to the Sun and Moon; but they hold in great esteem a kind of holy men among them, who are consulted upon all occasions of danger and distress, and whose advice is implicitly obeyed. In these consultations, however, they distinguish between the enterprize, and the means of attaining it: For example, as
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to the fortunate hour of commencing a war, they consult the holy men; but how the war shall be carried into execution, is debated in a general council of war held in presence of their chiefs; the determination of which was never known to be betrayed to an enemy by any of the members present, though endeavoured to be extorted by the most cruel tortures. They are implacable enemies, but faithful friends: They have an utter abhorrence of slavery, and rather chuse to die by the most tormenting deaths, than be sold by their enemies for slaves; esteeming nothing so horrible to nature as slavery, and dreading the tyranny of Christians more than the deprivation of life. This temper keeps them at a distance from the Spanish settlements, which they seldom visit but upon extraordinary occasions.

The Spaniards are no less cautious of trusting the Indians; though some, at the risque of life, venture among them in pursuit of trade.

We have already taken notice, that St. Augustine and Pensacola are the chief cities in the East and West governments of Florida; but Pensacola being situated in the Gulph of Mexico, has, by that means, some advantages over St. Augustine.

It has been generally suspected, that the commerce privately carried on by the islanders in the West Indies, furnishes the continent of North America with most of its silver coin. As this traffic may, with equal convenience, be carried on from West Florida, there is no doubt but the new inhabitants will endeavour to avail themselves of the fruits of it.

A thorough knowledge of the coast, and navigation of the gulph, is indeed necessary for this trade; but a little practice will soon enable an industrious adventurer to surmount all difficulties, and enrich himself by means equally just and laudable, though prohibited by the Spaniards to every nation but their own. The immense gain which this trade produces will probably soon make West Florida be numbered among our most flourishing colonies; and the situation of East Florida, by its neighbourhood to Cuba, will likewise share advantages, of which the remoter colonies cannot be partakers. And as the profits arising from these acquisitions will finally center in the mother country, the importance of the late cessions to Great-Britain may from these considerations be deduced.

An ACCOUNT of that Part of LOUISIANA, on this side Mississippi, ceded to Great-Britain, by the Peace.

THE Sea-coast along the gulph of Mexico, from the Mississippi to Florida, is entirely cover'd with tall pines, which afford great store of pitch, tar, and turpentine, and make good masts for ships; which will last twenty years, tho' our common masts of the New England white pine will often decay in three or four years. These pines are of that kind that is called the *pitch pine*, and *lightwood pine*, of which a ship was built that ran for sixteen years, and was then as sound, and rather harder than at first, except her oak timbers, which were rotten. The swamps on this coast also abound with cypress, which is equally serviceable both for masts and for ship building; and ships might be built of both these timbers for half the price of any others, both on account of the vast plenty of them, and of their being so easily worked.

Upper Louisiana lies to the Northward of the Apalachian mountains, in latitude thirty-five degrees. This country is in many places hilly and mountainous, and consequently not so fertile as the plains below it; but those hills on the west side of the Mississippi are generally suspected to contain mines, as well as the mountains of New Mexico, of which they are a continuation. But the fertile plains of Louisiana would be more valuable than all the mines of Mexico, if they were duly cultivated; they would breed and maintain ten times as many people, and supply them with many more necessaries and articles of trade and navigation than the richest mines of Peru.

The most import place in this country, and perhaps in all North America, is at the Forks of the Mississippi, where the Ohio falls into that river, which, like another ocean, is the general receptacle of all the rivers that water the interior parts of that vast continent: Those large and navigable rivers the Ohio, river of the Cherokees, Wabache, Illinois, Missouri, and Mississippi, besides many others which spread over that whole continent from the Apalachian mountains to the mountains of New Mexico, upwards of one thousand miles both North and South, and East and West, all meet together at this spot in the best climate, and one of the most fruitful countries in that part of the world, being in latitude thirty-seven deg. The latitudes of the Capes of Virginia, and of Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico; by that means there is a convenient navigation to this place from our present settlements

tlements to New Mexico, and from all the inland parts of North America, farther than we are acquainted with it: This place is, indeed, the center of that vast continent, and of all the nations in it, and seems to be intended by nature to command them both.

The Mississippi is navigable upwards of two thousand miles to the falls of St. Anthony in latitude forty-five deg. the only fall we know in it, which is sixteen degrees of latitude above its mouth, and even above that fall there is thirty fathom of water, with a proportionable breadth. About one thousand miles from its mouth it receives the river Ohio, which is navigable one thousand miles farther, some say fifteen hundred, high to its source, not far from lake Ontario in New York, in all which space there is but one fall in the Ohio, and that navigable both up and down, at least in canoes. This fall is three hundred miles from the Mississippi, and thirteen hundred from the sea, with five fathom of water up to it. The other large branches of the Ohio, the river of the Cherokees, and Wabache, afford a like navigation from lake Erie in the north, to the Cherokees in the south, and from thence to the bay of Mexico by the Mississippi, not to mention the great river Missouri, which runs to the north-west parts of New-Mexico much farther than we have any good accounts of that continent. From this it appears that the Mississippi affords the most extensive navigation of any river we know, so that it may justly be compared to an inland sea, which spreads over nine tenths of all the continent of North America, all which the French pretended to lay claim to for no other reason but because they were possessed of a paltry settlement at the mouth of this river.

As we are now about to make settlements in this country, it may be of some use to publish the following cautions and remarks, which were drawn up by a planter who had resided in it above sixteen years.

I. The disputes and wars that have happened between the natives and settlers, have generally arisen from a too familiar intercourse, which gradually lessens the respect which the natives entertain for Europeans.

II. The traffickers, or traders, who are generally young men, without experience, especially in new settlements, very often give the natives intelligence, and acquaint them with various particulars that are prejudicial to our interest, under a notion of gaining their good will.

III. It is also but too common for these traders, and indeed for the settlers in general, to accept of the offer of young
women

women, which it is the custom of the natives to make to their guests, a practice greatly injurious to their health and their interests.

IV. It is very injudicious for new settlers to fix themselves very near a settlement of the natives; this never fails to raise a jealousy and ill-will; for the natives are very unwilling that others should see or know their affairs, and much displeased at frequent visits.

To these we shall add a brief account of the produce of the country, and the manner of cultivating it.

To clear the woods of this country, which are generally thick set with cane, cut the canes down; and about the beginning of March bark the trees quite round, from the ground to about the height of two feet; in about three weeks the canes will be extremely dry, and the trees also will be sufficiently dry to burn; set fire therefore to the canes, which will burn fiercely; the trees will after a short time catch the flame, and all burn to the ground together, their ashes will fertilize it in the highest degree. In a day or two afterwards the ground will be fit for tillage.

The chief products of the country are,

I. *Maize, or Indian Corn.* To sow Maize, make holes in the ground, about four feet asunder each way, making the rows as straight as possible, that it may be more easily weeded. Into every hole put five or six grains of the Maize, having first steeped them about twenty-four hours in water to make them shoot the quicker. They must be guarded by day against the birds, and fires must be made at night to fright away the foxes, which would otherwise turn up all the ground, and eat the Corn out of every row, one after another. As soon as the Corn shoots it must be weeded, but little will be found to remove except fresh shoots from the cane roots: When its stalks come to be about an inch thick, it must be hilled, to secure it against the wind. The increase of this Corn is so great, that two negroes are sufficient to do whatever is requisite for producing a harvest of fifty barrels, each barrel weighing one hundred and fifty pounds weight. Of this Corn parched meal is the best preparation, and is thus made: Parboil the Corn in water, then drain it and dry it well, then roast it; when it is become red, put it into a mortar, with the ashes of dried stalks of kidney-beans and a little water; beat it gently; when it is turned into meal, dry it in the Sun, and it will keep, if now and then exposed to the Sun many months. To make it into food, mix two thirds water with one third meal; in a few minutes the mixture swells greatly, and is

fit to eat; it is extremely nourishing, and mixed with milk and a little sugar, may be served up to the best tables. From Maize may be made a very strong and well tasted beer, and by distillation it produces an excellent brandy.

II. Rye, barley, oats, and wheat, thrive exceedingly in this country; but wheat must not be sowed alone, but mixed with rye and dry mould in such a proportion that the dry mould shall be equal to the rye and wheat together: If this precaution is not used, it will grow wonderfully at first, but when it is in flower, a great number of drops of a red water may be observed at the bottom of the stalk, about six inches from the ground, which are collected during the night, and disappear at sun-rising; this water is so acid, that it consumes the stalk, and the ear falls before the grain is formed: Land that has lately been a wood contains an acid which produces this water; the rye and mould absorb the acid, and preserve the wheat.

III. Rice flourishes greatly here. It must be sown in a soil well laboured either with the plough or hoe, and in winter, that it may be in the ground before the rains; it must also be sowed in furrows of the breadth of a hoe: When it is three or four inches high, it is usual to let water into the furrows; but this is not absolutely necessary. Two crops may be reaped from the same plant, but it is necessary to flood the second.

IV. Beans of various kinds: These are treated as in England.

V. Potatoes, differing very little from ours, and tasting something like a chestnut. They are cultivated thus: Raise the ground in little hills, or high furrows, about a foot and a half over; cut the potatoes into small pieces, with an eye in each; plant four or five of these in the head of each hill: In a short time they will push out shoots; cut off these shoots about the middle of August, within seven or eight inches of the ground; plant them double cross-ways on the tops of the hills; the roots of these shoots are excellent. To keep them in winter, dry them in the Sun as soon as they are dug up, and then lay them in a close and dry place, covering them first with ashes, then with dry mould.

VI. Melons of many kinds, all excellent, greatly exceeding those in England. There is nothing peculiar in their cultivation.

VII. All sorts of garden plants and greens thrive here; but onions, and bulbous plants, give some trouble in the low lands, as they naturally require a dry, light earth.

VIII. The

VIII. The country abounds with that kind of mulberry-trees, the leaves of which the silk-worms are most fond of. This country may therefore produce silk in great quantities.

IX. *Indigo*. The grain of the Indigo is sown in a soil prepared like a garden: Holes are made in a strait line with a small hoe a foot asunder; four or five seeds are put in each hole, and covered with earth: When the leaf, which gives the blue called Indigo, is wholly expanded, it exactly resembles that of the acacia. The shoots are cut before the wood hardens, and while they are green as the leaf, having however a blueish cast, with a pruning hook or strong sickle. Indigo shoots higher or lower, as the soil is better or worse; the tuft of the first cutting is generally about eight inches high, the second cutting sometimes rises to a foot: He that cuts it ought to set his foot upon the root, to prevent its being forced out of the earth, by its resistance to the knife.

To prepare Indigo from these tufts, they are soaked in water and macerated; the water is carefully drawn off, and the colour remains behind in a kind of pap, which is put into cloth bags to drain, and then spread in the mould with a wooden knife, or spatula.

X. *Tobacco*. To sow tobacco make a bed of the best ground six inches high; sow the seed thin, cover it with ashes to the thickness of a farthing, to prevent worms from eating the first shoots, and gently sprinkle it towards evening, if no rain falls. When the shoot has four leaves, transplant into holes a foot broad made with a line, distant from each other three feet every way: It should be transplanted after the rain, otherwise it must be watered, and the plant should be lightly covered in the day-time with some leaves plucked the night before; it must be carefully cleared from caterpillars. When the stem begins to turn yellow, cut the stalk with a pruning knife, and leave it on the ground to deaden; then carry it off in hand barrows, and hang it up in the house, with the top of the plant downwards, the leaves lightly touching one another, for they will soon shrivel, and hang separate; when these leaves are of a bright chestnut colour, strip them from the stalk, and make them into bundles.

XI. *Cotton*. This plant may be cultivated in lands newly cleared, and not yet proper for tobacco, much less for Indigo. The seeds of cotton are planted about three feet asunder, and at a proper time fresh earth must be laid to the root, to secure them against the wind. When this is done, and it is kept weeded, it grows without farther tendance or labour to maturity: Then its pods open in five parts, and discover the
S f 2 cotton.

cotton. When the Sun has sufficiently dried it, it is gathered, and to gather it is the employment of children and old people, incapable of harder labour; it must then be separated from the grain, or seed, to which it closely adheres.

The cultivation of Indigo, Tobacco, and Cotton, may be easily carried on without interruption to the making of silk; for the work they require does not come on till the worms have spun their silk; and the worms may be fed and cleaned by children, whether negroes or others, who are capable of little else.

XII. Hops grow naturally here, and may be cultivated as in England.

We shall now consider the commodities which Louisiana may furnish in return for those of Europe.

I. Dry buffaloes hides, and their tallow. These may be procured by killing the old bulls, which are so fat as to be scarce able to walk; each will yield about a hundred weight of tallow, and the species would not be lessened; for these fat buffaloes are always made a prey of by the wolves.

II. Deer-skins.

III. Wax produced in great plenty by the wax-tree.

IV. Timber for ship-building. This may be obtained of the inhabitants at a very low price, because they would get it in winter when they would otherwise be idle. This timber consists of oak, fir, elm, ash, alder and cypress. The cypress is excellent for planking; it is, indeed, somewhat softer than oak, but it is light, not apt to split or warp, it is supple, and easily worked, and it is incorruptible both in air and water. Another great advantage of this wood is, that no worm on shore will touch it, and therefore there is some reason to hope that it will not be injured by the ship-worm.

V. Malts, the country abounding in pines.

VI. Pitch and tar.

VII. Woods for joiners work, and finereing, particularly the black walnut and the cotton-tree.

VIII. Salt-petre of the finest quality may be made here in any quantity.

IX. Silk might make a very valuable article of commerce, and saffron, which the Spaniards of Mexico, who consume great quantities of it, would take at a good price.

X. Hemp; Cotton; Indigo; Tobacco; Rice; Drugs used in Medicine, and for dying, particularly *sassafras*, *sarsaparilla*, *esquine*, and *copalm*, or *sweet gum*, *stinkingwood*, or *ayae* for yellow, and *achetchi* for red.

In return for these commodities we may send all sorts of European goods and merchandise.

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The commerce of Louisiana with the islands, consists of, Cypress-wood, in plank of ten or twelve feet, and also squared for building of different scantlings; Bricks; Tiles for covering houses and sheds; Apalachian beans, called also Garavanzas; Maize, or Indian corn; Red peas; Cleaned rice-----Upon these goods the profit is generally *cent. per cent.* and the shipping brings back sugar, coffee, rum, and other goods.

The commerce with Spain may be carried on in the following articles:

The Spaniards bring Campeachy-wood; Brazil-wood; Cochineal; Tortoise-shell; Tanned leather; Marroquin, or Spanish leather; Tanned calf; Havannah snuff; Vanilla.

To this account of the articles of commerce in Louisiana, we shall add the following remarks, which, at this time, are very interesting objects of public attention.

The navigation of the Mississippi, and a port at the mouth of it, and settlements upon it, are so essentially necessary, that no advantage can be made of Louisiana to Britain without them,

There is no access, but by this river, to the interior parts of North America, and whoever is in possession of the navigation of this river, and the vast tracts of fertile land upon it, must command the continent, its trade, and its natives; and if the French are in possession of the Mississippi, while we neglect it, they must command all that continent beyond the Apalachian mountains, and disturb our settlements more than they ever did, or were able to do; the very thing they engaged in the late war to accomplish, and we to prevent.

The Mississippi is very rapid as far as the Missouri, which is about twelve hundred miles from its mouth, which, tho' it makes it difficult of ascent, yet facilitates the conveyance of the gross commodities down it, which constitute the chief staple of North America. The worst part of the navigation is at the mouth of the river, but if the river was cleared of a narrow bar in the Passes, a port might be made for ships of any burthen; this port would command all the inland parts of North America on the one side, and the Pass from Mexico on the other, so that in these respects it would be preferable even to the Havannah, not to mention that it is fresh water, and free from worms.

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The voyage from the Mississippi to Europe may be performed in six weeks, for ships are carried thither by the trade-winds, and brought back by the currents.

The trade of North America, however inconsiderable its pecuniary produce, is more profitable to us than the mines of Mexico and Peru; for it consists of those bulky commodities that are the chief sources of navigation, which maintain whole countries to furnish them, whole fleets to transport them, and incredible numbers of people to manufacture them at home: If we compare this with the sugar-trade, or even the fishery, it will appear of much the greater national advantage than either, or even than both, though they may be best calculated to enrich a few individuals. We set a great value upon the fishery; but it does not employ a third part of the seamen that are employed by the plantation trade. The tobacco trade alone employs more seamen in Britain, than either the fishery or the sugar-trade.

By the best calculation that can be made, forty-five hundred seamen are employed in the tobacco trade; and the number employed in All America, including the fishery, is about seventeen thousand besides nine or ten thousand seamen belonging to North America, who are all ready to enter into the service of Britain, on any emergency or encouragement.

The French, on the other hand, employ upwards of twenty thousand seamen in the fishery, so that the plantation trade of North America is to us, what the fishery is to them, the great nursery for the navy; and therefore this nation ought, for its own safety, to enjoy an exclusive right to one or the other of them.

The advantages of lands that produce a staple for Britain, in North America, are innumerable. The whole interest of the nation in those colonies depends upon them, if not the colonies themselves. Such lands alone enable the colonies to procure manufactures and other necessaries from Britain, to the mutual advantage of both; and how necessary that is, will appear from the state of those colonies in North America, which are not able to procure the single article of cloathing; not to mention the many other things they want for Britain. In short, it will appear that our colonies in North America could not subsist much longer, in a state of dependence for all their manufactures and other necessaries, without other lands that may enable them to purchase them; and they can find no such lands but upon the Mississippi. When their lands are worn out, are poor and barren, or in an improper climate or situation, so that they will produce nothing to send to Britain,
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such lands can only be converted into corn and pasture grounds; and the people in our colonies are therefore necessarily obliged, for a bare subsistence, to interfere with Britain, not only in manufactures, but in the very produce of their lands.

By this we may perceive the absurdity of the popular outcry, that we had land enough, and more than we could make use of, in North America, before the last cession. The authors of that outcry derive their opinion from what they see in Europe, where the quantity of land that we possess in North America will, no doubt, maintain a greater number of people than we have there. But they should consider, that those people in Europe are not maintained by the planting of a bare raw commodity, with such immense charges upon it, but by farming, manufactures, trade, and commerce; which they will soon reduce our colonies to, who would confine them to their settlements, between the sea-coast and the mountains that surround them.

Some of our colonies perhaps may imagine, they cannot subsist without these employments; but that seems to be as contrary to their true interest, as it is to their condition of British colonies. They have neither skill, materials, nor any other conveniencies to make manufactures; whereas their lands require only culture to produce a staple commodity, provided they are possessed of such as are fit for that purpose. Manufactures are the produce of labour, which is both scarce and dear among them; whereas lands are, or may and should be made, both cheap and in plenty; by which they may always reap much greater profits from the one than the other. That is, moreover, a certain pledge for the allegiance and dependance of the colonies, and at the same time makes their dependance to become their interest. It has been found by frequent experience, that the making of a staple commodity for Britain is more profitable than manufactures, provided they have good lands to work.

It were to be wished, indeed, that we could support our interest in America; and those sources of navigation, by countries that were more convenient to it than those on the Mississippi. But that is not to be done. We wish we could say as much of the lands in Florida, and in the bay of Mexico, as of those on the Mississippi; but they are not to be compared to these, however convenient they may be in other respects to navigation. In all those southern and maritime parts of that continent, the lands are, in general, but very poor and mean, being little more than *pine barrens*, or *sandy deserts*. The climate is at the same time so intemperate, that
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white people are in a great measure unfit for labour in it, as much as they are in the islands; this obliges them to make use of slaves, which are now become so dear, that it is to be doubted whether all the produce of those lands will enable the proprietors of them to purchase slaves, or any other labourers, without which they can turn to little or no account to the nation, and those countries can support but very few people if it were only to protect and defend them.

If we turn our eyes to the lands in our Northern colonies, it is to be feared we can expect much less from them. The climate is so severe, and the winters so long, that the people are obliged to spend that time in providing the necessaries of life, which should be employed in profitable colonies, on the making of some staple commodity and returns to Britain. They are obliged to feed their creatures for five or six months in the year, which employs their time in summer, and takes up the best of their lands, such as they are, which should produce their staple commodities, to provide for themselves and their stocks against winter. For that reason, the people in all our Northern colonies are necessarily obliged to become farmers, to make corn and provisions, instead of planters, who make a staple commodity for Britain, and thereby interfere with their mother country in the most material and essential of all employments to a nation, agriculture.

In short, neither the soil nor climate will admit of any improvement for Britain, in any of those Northern colonies. If they would produce any thing of that kind, it must be hemp; which never could be made in them to any advantage, as appears from many trials of it in New England. The great dependance of those Northern colonies is upon the supplies of lumber and provisions which they send to the islands. But as they increase and multiply, their woods are cut down, lumber becomes scarce and dear, and the number of people enhances the value of land, and of every thing it produces, especially provisions.

If this is the case of those Northern colonies on the sea-coast, what can we expect from the inland parts, in which the soil is not only more barren, and the climate more severe; but they are, with all these disadvantages, so inconvenient to navigation both on account of distance, and of the many falls and currents in the river St. Laurence, that it is to be feared those inland parts of our Northern colonies will never produce any thing for Britain more than a few furs, which they will do much better in the hands of the natives than in ours.

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These our Northern colonies, however, are very populous, and multiply very fast. They are above a million of people in them, who can make but very little upon their lands for themselves, and still less for their mother-country. For these reasons, it is presumed, it would be an advantage to them, as well as to the whole nation, to remove their spare people who want lands, to those vacant lands in the Southern parts of the continent, which turn to so much greater account than any they are possessed of. There they may have the necessities of life in the greatest plenty; their stocks maintain themselves the whole year round with little or no cost or labour, "by which means many people have 1000 head of cattle, and for one man to have 200 is very common, with other stock in proportion." This enables them to bestow their whole labour, both in summer and winter, on the making of some staple commodity for Britain, getting lumber and provisions for the islands, &c. which both enriches them and the whole nation. That is much better, surely, than to perish in winter for want of cloathing, which they must do unless they make it, and to excite jealousies between them and their mother-country.

The many advantages that would ensue from the peopling of those Southern parts of the continent from our Northern colonies, are hardly to be told. We might thereby people and secure those countries, and reap the profits of them without any loss of people, which are not to be spared for that purpose in Britain, or any other of her dominions. This is the great use and advantage that may be made of the expulsion of the French from those Northern parts of America. They have hitherto obliged us to strengthen those Northern colonies, and have confined the people in them to towns and townships, in which their labour could turn to no great account, either to themselves or to the nation; by which we have, in a great measure, lost the labour of one half of the people in our colonies. But as they are now free from any danger on their borders, they may extend their settlements with safety, disperse themselves on plantations, and cultivate those lands that may turn to some account both to them and to the whole nation. In short, they may now make some staple commodity for Britain, on which the interest of the colonies, and of the nation in them, chiefly depends.

What those commodities are that we might get from those Southern parts of North America, appears from the preceding account; particularly hemp, flax, and silk, those great articles and necessary materials of manufactures, for which, alone,

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this nation pays at least a million and an half a year, if not two millions, and could never get them from all the colonies we have. Cotton and Indigo are equally useful: not to mention copper, iron, pot-ash, &c. which, with hemp, flax, and silk, make the great balance of trade against the nation, and drain it of its treasure, when we might have these commodities from our colonies for manufactures, and both supply ourselves and others with them. Wine, oil, raisins, and currants, &c. those products of France and Spain on which Britain spends so much of her treasure to enrich her enemies, might likewise be had from those her own dominions. Britain might thereby cut off those resources of her enemies, secure her colonies for the future, and prevent such calamities of war, by cultivating those more laudable arts of peace; which will be the more necessary, as these are the only advantages the nation can expect for the many millions that have been expended on America.

*An ACCOUNT of the NATIVES of CANADA, and
LOUISIANA, with their Manners, Customs, &c.*

THE savages of Canada are generally well made, and of a lofty stature; but it is not unusual in some nations to see some of only a middle stature; but it is very uncommon to see any that are deformed, or that have any outward blemish. They are robust, and of a healthy constitution: They would be very long lived, if they spared themselves a little more; but the greatest part ruin their constitutions by forced marches, desperate fastings, and great excesses in eating. Besides that, during their childhood, they have often their naked feet in the water, on the snow and ice. The brandy which the Europeans have supplied them with, and for which they have such a strong inclination, that exceeds all that can be said of it, and which they always drink till they are drunk, has completed their ruin, and has not a little contributed to the destruction of all these nations, which are at present reduced to less than the twentieth part of what they were an hundred and fifty years ago. If this continues, they will become entirely extinct.

Their bodies are not confined in their infancy like ours, and nothing is more proper to make their joints free, and to give them that suppleness in all their limbs, which we so much admire in them, than this liberty, and the exercises to which the children there are accustomed very early. The mothers suckle

suckle them a long time, and there are some, that at six or seven years old still take the breast. Nevertheless, this does not hinder them from taking all kinds of food the first year: In short, the open air to which they are exposed, the fatigues they make them suffer, but by little and little, and in a manner proportioned to their age, with plain and natural food; all this forms bodies capable of performing and of suffering incredible things; the excess of which, as I have already observed, destroys many before they arrive at an age of maturity. We have seen some, after their stomachs were swelled four inches, still continue eating as heartily as if they had just begun. When they find themselves overcharged, they smoke, then they sleep, and when they wake the digestion is generally perfected. Sometimes they take an emetic, after which they begin to eat again.

In the Southern countries they have but little restraint in the article of women; who, on their side, are very lascivious. From hence arises the corruption of manners, which for some years past has infected the northern nations. The Iroquois, in particular, were chaste enough, till they were conversant with the Illinois, and other neighbouring people of Louisiana: They have gained nothing by their acquaintance with them, but adopting their vices. It is certain, that effeminacy and lust were carried in those parts to the greatest excess. There were amongst them some men, who were not ashamed to dress themselves like women, and submit to all the employments that belonged to the women; from whence there followed a corruption that cannot be expressed. Some have pretended, that this custom came from I know not what principle of religion; but this religion, like many others, has taken its rise from the depravation of the heart; or if this custom took its rise from the spirit, it ended in the flesh. These effeminate persons never marry, and abandon themselves to the most infamous passions; they are also treated with the utmost contempt.

On the other hand, though the women are strong and lusty, they are unfruitful. Besides the reasons I have already mentioned, that is to say, the time they take to suckle their children, their custom of continence all this time, and the excessive labours they are obliged to undergo, in whatsoever condition they find themselves; this barrenness proceeds also from the custom established in many places, which permits young women to prostitute themselves before they are married: Add to this, the extreme necessity to which these people are often reduced, and which takes away their desire of having children.

For the rest, it is certain, that they have great advantages over us; and I consider, as the chief of all, the perfectness of their senses, either internal or external. In spite of the snow, which dazzles their eyes, and the smoke, which almost smothers them for six months in the year, their sight never decays. Their hearing is extremely quick, and their smelling so exquisite, that they smell fire a long time before they can discover it. On account of the exquisiteness, of their smell, they cannot bear the scent of musk, nor any strong smell. They say also, that they like no odours, but those of eatables.

Their apprehension is very wonderful: It is enough for them to have been but once in a place, to have an exact idea of it, which is never effaced. If a forest is ever so large and pathless, they cross it without wandering, when they have well considered certain marks, by which they guide themselves.

The inhabitants of Acadia, and of the environs of the Gulf of St. Laurence, in passing with their canoes over to Terre de Labrador, (New Britain) to seek out the Eskimaux, with whom they were at war, would go thirty or forty leagues on the main sea without a compass, and make the land exactly at the place they proposed. In the most cloudy weather they will follow the sun many days, without making any mistake: The best clock cannot give us better information of the progress of the sun, than they can, only by viewing the sky; so that do what you can to put them out of their way, it is very rare that they lose their route. They are born with this talent; it is not the fruit of their observations, nor of long custom: Youth, who never before went out of their village, travel as securely as those who have been most used to range the country.

The beauty of their imagination is equal to its vivacity, and this appears in all their discourse. They are quick at repartee, and their speeches are full of shining passages, that would have been applauded in the public assemblies at Rome and Athens. Their eloquence has something in it so strong, so natural, so pathetic, that art cannot attain, and which the Greeks admired in the barbarians: And though it does not appear to be supported by action, though they make no gestures, and do not raise their voice, we feel that they are thoroughly affected with what they say, and their eloquence is persuasive.

It would be strange, that with such a fine imagination, they should not have an excellent memory. They are destitute of all the helps we have invented to assist ours, or to supply its defect; nevertheless it is scarcely credible of how many matters, with what particular circumstances,
and

and with how much order they treat in their councils. On some occasions, however, they use little sticks, to recollect the articles they are to discuss; and by this they form a sort of local memory so certain, that they will speak four or five hours together, will display twenty presents, each of which requires an entire discourse, without forgetting any thing, or even without hesitation. Their narration is clear and exact; and tho' they use many allegories, and other figures, it is animated, and has all the pleasing turns that their language affords.

They have a true and solid judgment, and go directly to the mark in view, without stopping, without wandering, and without being put on a wrong scent. They readily conceive all that is within the compass of their knowledge; but to put them in a way of succeeding in the arts, without which they have lived hitherto, as they have not the least idea of them, it would require a great deal of labour, and the more so, as they have the highest contempt for every thing which they do not find necessary, that is to say, for what we value most. It would also be no small difficulty to make them capable of restraint and application in things merely speculative, or which they should look upon as useless. As to what relates to their own concerns, they neglect nothing, nor do any thing precipitately: And though they are so slow in taking their resolutions, yet they are as warm and active in putting them in execution. This is observed especially of the Hurons and the Iroquois. They are not only ready at repartee, but also witty.

An Outaonais, named John le Blanc, a bad Christian, and a great drunkard, being asked by Comte de Frontenac, what he thought brandy was made of, which he loved so well, said it was an extract of tongues and hearts; for, (added he) when I have drank it, I fear nothing, and I talk to admiration.

The greatest part of them have truly a nobleness and an equality of soul, to which we seldom arrive, with all the helps we can obtain from philosophy and religion. Always masters of themselves, in the most sudden misfortunes we cannot perceive the least alteration in their countenances. A prisoner, who knows in what his captivity will end, or, which is perhaps more surprising, who is still uncertain of his fate, does not lose on this account a quarter of an hour's sleep; even the first emotions do not find them at a loss.

A Huron captain was one day insulted and struck by a young man. Those who were present would have punished this audaciousness on the spot. *Let him alone* (said the Captain)

tain), *Did not you feel the earth tremble? He is sufficiently informed of his folly.*

Their constancy in suffering pain is beyond all expression. A young woman shall be a whole day in labour, without uttering one cry: If she shewed the least weakness, they would esteem her unworthy to be a mother; because, as they say, she could only breed cowards. Nothing is more common, than to see persons of all ages, and of both sexes, suffer for many hours, and sometimes many days together, the sharpest effects of fire, and all that the most industrious fury can invent to make it most painful, without letting a sigh escape. They are employed for the most part, during their sufferings, in encouraging their tormentors by the most insulting reproaches.

An Outagami, who was burnt by the Illinois with the utmost cruelty, perceiving a Frenchman among the spectators begged of him that he would help his enemies to torment him; and upon his asking why he made this request, he replied, *Because I should have the comfort of dying by the hands of a man. My greatest grief* (adds he) *is, that I never killed a man.-----But* (said an Illinois) *you have killed such and such and such a person.-----As for the Illinois,* (replied the prisoner) *I have killed enough of them, but they are no men.*

What I have observed in another place, to lessen the astonishment which such an insensibility fills one with, does not hinder us from allowing, that such a behaviour shews a great deal of Bravery. There must always be, to elevate the soul above a sense of pain to such a degree, an effort which common souls are not capable of. The savages exercise themselves in this all their lives and accustom their children to it from their tenderest years. We have seen little boys and girls tie themselves together by one arm, and put a lighted coal between them, to see which would shake it off first. In short, we must also allow, that, according to Cicero's remark an habit of labour makes us bear pain more easily. But there are perhaps no men in the world who fatigue themselves more than the savages, either in their huntings, or in their journeys. Lastly, what proves that this kind of insensibility is in these barbarians the effect of a true courage, is that it is not found in all of them.

It is not surprising, that with this greatness of soul, and these elevated sentiments, the savages should be intrepid in danger, and of a courage proof against every thing. It is true, that in their wars they expose themselves as little as may be, because they make it their chief glory, never to buy the victory at a dear rate; and because of their nations not being
numerous

numerous, they have made it a maxim not to weaken them: But when they must fight, they do it like lions, and the sight of their blood does but increase their strength and courage. They have been in many actions with our brave men, who have seen them perform things almost incredible.

As to what we call more particularly the qualities of the heart, the savages do not value themselves much on them; or, to speak more properly, they are not virtues in them. Friendship, compassion, gratitude, attachment, they have something of all this, but it is not in the heart; and in them it is less the effect of a good disposition, than of reflection or instinct. The care they take of orphans, widows, and the infirm, and the hospitality, they exercise in such an admirable manner, are to them only the consequence of their persuasion, that all things ought to be in common among men. Fathers and mothers have a fondness for their children, which rises even to weakness; but which does not incline them to make them virtuous, and which appears to be purely animal. Children, on their side, have no natural gratitude for their parents, and they even treat them sometimes with indignity, especially their fathers. I have heard some examples of this sort that are horrible, and which cannot be related: But here follows one instance that was public.

An Iroquois, who served along time in our troops against his own nation, and even as an officer, met his father in an engagement, and was going to kill him. When he discovered who he was, he held his hand, and said to him, *You have once given me life, and now I give it to you. Let me meet you no more; for I have paid the debt I owed you.* Nothing can better prove the necessity of education, and that nature alone does not sufficiently instruct us in our most essential duties. And what demonstrates more evidently the advantages of the Christian religion, is, that it has produced in the hearts of these barbarians, in all these respects, a change which appears wonderful.

But if the savages know not how to taste the sweets of friendship, they have at least discovered its usefulness. Every one among them has a friend, nearly of his own age, between whom there is a mutual engagement, which is indissoluble. Two men, thus united for their common interest, are obliged to do every thing, and run all hazards to assist and succour each other. Death itself, as they believe, separates them only a time: They depend on meeting again in the other world, never to part more, being persuaded that they shall still want each other's assistance.

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The colour of the savages does not prove a third species, between the white and the black, as some people have imagined. They are very swarthy, and of a dirty dark red, which appears more in Florida, of which Louisiana is a part; but this is not their natural complexion. The frequent frictions they use gives them this red; and it is surprising that they are not blacker, being continually exposed to the smoke in winter, to the great heats of the sun in summer, and in all seasons to all the inclemencies of the air.

It is not so easy to give a reason why they have not a hair on their whole body, excepting the hairs of their head, which they have all very black, the eye-lashes and eye-brows, which some also pluck off; and it is the same case with almost all the Americans. What makes it still more surprising is, that their children are born with a thin hair, and pretty long, all over their bodies, but which disappears after eight days. The old men have also some hairs on the chin, as we see some old women have with us. I have known some, who attribute this singularity to the constant custom the Americans have of smoking, and which is common to both sexes. Others think it more natural to say, that this proceeds from the quality of their blood, which being more pure, because of the plainness of their aliments, produces less of those superfluities, which ours, being more gross, supplies so plentifully; or, that having fewer salts it is less fit for these sort of productions. There is no doubt, that it is at least this plainness of food which renders the savages so swift of foot. I have seen a man, who, came from an island not far from Japan, who, before he had eat any bread, assured me that he could travel on foot thirty leagues a day, commonly without fatigue; but since he had been used to bread, he could not travel with the same ease.

This is certain, that our savages think it a very great beauty to have no hair but on the head; if they have any grow on their chin, they pluck it off directly; that the Europeans, the first time they saw them, appeared frightful to them with their long beards, as was then the fashion; that they do not think our white colour handsome; and that they found the flesh of the English and French, when they eat it, of a bad taste, because it was salt.

The children of the savages, when they leave the cradle, are not confined in any manner; and as soon as they can crawl upon their hands and feet, they let them go where they will quite naked, into the water, into the woods, into the dirt, and into the snow, which makes their bodies strong,
their

their limbs very supple, and hardens them against the injuries of the air; but also, as I observed before, it makes them subject to distempers of the stomach and lungs, which destroys them early. In summer they run, as soon as they are up, to the river, or into the lakes, and continue there a part of the day, playing like fish, when it is fine weather, at the surface of the water. It is certain, that nothing is better than this exercise to make their joints free, and to render them nimble.

They put a bow and arrows into their hands betimes, and to excite them in that emulation, which is the best teacher of the arts, there is no need to set their breakfast on the top of a tree, as they did by the young Lacedæmonians. They are all born with that passion for glory that has no need of a spur; and indeed they shoot with a surprising exactness; and with a little practice they acquire the same dexterity in the use of our fire-arms. They make them also wrestle, and they pursue this exercise so eagerly, that they would often kill one another if they were not parted. Those who are worsted, are so enraged at it, that they do not take the least repose till they have revenge.

In general one may say, that the fathers and mothers neglect nothing to inspire their children with certain principles of honour, which they preserve all their lives, but of which they often make a bad application; and in this their whole education consists. When they give them instructions on this head, it is always in an indirect way; the most common is to relate to them the brave actions of their ancestors, or of their countrymen. These young people are fired at these stories; and are never easy till they find an opportunity of imitating the examples they have made them admire. Sometimes, to correct them for their faults, they use prayers and tears, but never menaces. They would make no impression on spirits, prepossessed with an opinion that no person has a right to use compulsion.

A mother, who sees her daughter behave ill falls a crying: On the daughter's asking the cause, she is satisfied with saying *You disgrace me*. It seldom happens that this way of reproving is not effectual; nevertheless, since they have conversed more with the French, some of them begin to chastise their children; but this is scarcely amongst any but the Christians, or those that are settled in the colony. Generally the greatest punishment they use to correct their children, is to throw a little water in their faces. The children are much affected by it, and by every thing that favours of reproof; the cause of

which is, that resentment is their strongest passion, even at that age.

We have known some girls hang themselves, for having only received a slight reprimand from their mothers, or a few drops of water in their faces; and who have given notice of it, by saying, *You shall lose your daughter*. The greatest misfortune is, that it is not to virtue they exhort these young people; or, which is the same thing, that they do not always give them true notions of virtue. In reality, they recommend nothing to them so much as revenge, and it is this of which they shew them the most frequent examples.

One would expect, that a childhood so badly disciplined, should be followed by a youth of turbulence and corruption; but on one hand the savages are naturally calm, and early masters of themselves: Reason also guides them rather more than other men. And, on the other hand, their constitutions, especially in the northern countries, does not incline them to debauchery; yet we find some customs among them, in which chastity is entirely disregarded: But it appears that this proceeds more from superstition, than the depravation of the heart.

The Hurons, when we first began to converse with them, were more lascivious, and very brutal in their pleasures. The young persons of both sexes abandoned themselves without shame to all manner of dissoluteness: And it was chiefly among them, that it was not esteemed a crime for a girl to prostitute herself. Their parents were the first to engage them in this way, and many did the same by their wives for a base interest. Many never married, but took young women to serve them, as they said, for companions; and all the difference they made between these concubines and their lawful wives, was, that with the first there was no agreement made: For the rest, their children were on the same footing as the others, which produced no inconvenience, in a country where there are no estates to inherit.

One does not distinguish nations here by their dress. The men, when it is hot, have often only something of an apron to cover their nakedness. In winter they clothe themselves more or less, according to the climate. They wear on their feet a sort of sandals, made of roe-buck skins smoked: Their stockings are also skins, or bits of stuffs, which they wrap round their legs. A waistcoat, made of skins, covers them to the waist, and they wear over that a rug or blanket, when they can get it; if not, they make themselves a robe with a bear's skin, or of several beaver or other like skins, or furs, with

with the hair inwards. The women's waistcoats reach just below their knees; and when it is very cold, or when they travel, they cover their heads with their blanket, or their robe. I have seen several who had little caps, like skull caps; others have a sort of capuchin fastened to their waistcoats; and they have besides a piece of stuff which serves them for a petticoat, which covers them from the waist down to the middle of the leg.

They are all very desirous of having shirts and shifts; but they never put them under their waistcoats till they are dirty, and then they wear them till they drop to pieces, for they never take the trouble to wash them. Their waistcoats are generally dressed in the smoke like their sandals; that is to say, after they have hung a proper time in it, they rub them a little, and then they may be washed like linnen; they prepare them also by soaking them in water, then rubbing them with their hands till they are dry and pliable; but the savages think our stuffs and blankets are much more convenient.

Many make various figures all over their bodies by pricking themselves, others only in some parts. They don't do this merely for ornament; they find also, as it is said, great advantages by this custom. It serves greatly to defend them from the cold, renders them less sensible of the other injuries of the air, and frees them from the prosecution of the gnats. But it is only the countries possessed by the English, especially in Virginia, that the custom of pricking themselves all over the body is very common. In New France the greatest part are satisfied with some figures of birds, serpents, or other animals, and even of leaves, and such like figures, without order or symmetry, but according to every one's fancy, often in the face, and sometimes even on the eye-lids. Many women are marked in the parts of the face that answer to the jaw bones, to prevent the tooth-ach.

This operation is not painful in itself. It is performed in this manner: They begin by tracing on the skin, drawn very tight, the figure they intend to make; then they prick little holes close together with the fins of a fish, or with needles, all over these traces, so as to draw blood: Then they rub them over with charcoal dust, and other colours, well ground and powdered. These powders sink into the skin, and the colours are never effaced; but soon after the skin swells, and forms a kind of scab, accompanied with inflammation. It commonly excites a fever; and if the weather is too hot, or the operation has been carried too far, there is hazard of life.

The colours with which they paint their faces, and the grease they rub themselves with all over their bodies, produce the same advantages, and, as these people fancy, give the same good appearance, as pricking. The warriors paint themselves, when they take the field, to intimidate their enemies, perhaps also to hide their fear; for we must not think they are all exempt from it. The young people do it to conceal an air of youth, which would make them less taken for old soldiers, or a paleness remaining after some distemper, and which they are apprehensive might be taken for the effect of want of courage: They do it also to make them look handsome; but then the colours are more lively, and more varied. They paint the prisoners that are going to die; but I don't know why: Perhaps it is to be sacrificed to the GOD of war. Lastly, they paint the dead, to expose them dressed in the finest robes; and this is, without doubt to hide the paleness of death, which disfigures them.

The colours they use on these occasions are the same they use to dye skins, and they make them from certain earths, and the bark of some trees. They are not very lively, but they do not very easily wear out. The men add to this ornament the down of swans or other birds, which they strew upon their hair after it has been greased, like powder. They add to this, feathers of all colours, and bunches of the hair of divers animals, all placed in an odd manner. The placing of their hair, sometimes standing up like bristles on one side, and flatted on the other, or dressed in a thousand different fashions, pendants in their ears, and sometimes in their nostrils, a great shell of porcelain hanging about their neck, or on their breast, some crowns made of the plumage of scarce birds, the claws, feet, or heads of birds of prey, little horns of roe-bucks, all these things make up their finery. But whatever they have most precious is always employed to adorn the captives when these wretches make their first entry into the village of their conquerors.

It is observable that the men take very little pains to adorn any part but their head. It is just the reverse with the women: They wear scarcely any thing on it; they are only fond of their hair, and they would think themselves disgraced if it was cut off; therefore, when at the death of a relation they cut off part of it, they pretend by this to shew the greatest grief for their loss. To preserve their hair they grease it often, and powder it with the dust of spruce bark, and sometimes with vermillion; then they wrap it up in the skin of an eel or a serpent, in the fashion of whiskers, which hang
down

down to their waist. As to their faces, they are satisfied with tracing some lines on them with vermillion, or other colours.

Their nostrils are never bored, and it is only among some nations that they bore their ears; then they wear in them pendants, as do also the men, made of beads of porcelain. When they are dressed in their greatest finery, they have robes painted with all sorts of figures, with little collars of porcelain set on them without much order or symmetry, with a kind of border tolerably worked with porcupine's hair, which they paint also of various colours.

In short, to make a brief portrait of these people: With a savage appearance, and manners and customs which are entirely barbarous, there is observable amongst them a social kindness, free from almost all the imperfections which so often disturb the peace of society among us. They appear to be without passion; but they do that in cold blood, and sometimes through principle, which the most violent and unbridled passion produces in those who give no ear to reason. They seem to lead the most wretched life in the world; and they were perhaps the only happy people on earth, before the knowledge of the objects, which so much work upon and seduce us, had excited in them desires which ignorance kept in supineness; and which have not as yet made any great ravages among them. We discover in them a mixture of the fiercest and the most gentle manners, the imperfections of wild beasts, and virtues and qualities of the heart and mind, which do the greatest honour to human nature. One would think at first that they have no form of government, that they acknowledge neither laws nor subordination; and that living in an entire independence, they suffer themselves to be solely guided by chance, and the wildest caprice: Nevertheless, they enjoy almost all the advantages that a well-regulated authority can procure for the best governed nations. Born free and independent, they look with horror even on the shadow of a despotic power; but they seldom depart from certain principles and customs, founded on good sense, which are to them instead of laws, and which in some measure supply the place of a lawful authority. They will not bear the least restraint; but reason alone keeps them in a kind of subordination; which, for being voluntary, is not the less effectual to obtain the end intended.

A man who should be highly esteemed by them, would find them docible enough, and would make them do almost what he pleased; but it is not easy to obtain their esteem to such a degree: They never give it but to merit, and to superior merit;

merit; of which they are as good judges as those amongst us, who think they have the most discernment.

They rely much on physiognomy, and perhaps there are no men in the world who are better judges of it. The reason is, that they have none of that respect for any person whatsoever, which seduces us: And studying only pure nature, they have a perfect knowledge of it. As they are not slaves to ambition and interest, and that there is scarce any thing but these two passions which has weakened in us that sense of humanity which the author of nature had graven in our hearts, the inequality of conditions is no way necessary to them for the support of society.

DESCRIPTION of QUEBEC, Character of its Inhabitants, and the Manner of living in that FRENCH (now ENGLISH) colony; by P. CHARLEVOIX.

☞ Though our Readers will perhaps wonder at our printing an Account of QUEBEC, published while in the Possession of the *French*, and wrote by a *Frenchman*, the reason is, that we could not meet with any other so good.

ALL the accounts I have seen of Quebec are so faulty and deficient, that, I believe, I shall not displease you by a true representation of this capital of New France. It indeed merits your knowledge, were it only on account of the singularity of its situation, for perhaps it is the only city in the world, that can boast a fresh-water harbour, capable of containing one hundred men of war of the line, at one hundred and twenty leagues distance from the sea. It lies on the most navigable river in the universe.

The river St. Laurence up to the isle of Orleans, that is, for about one hundred and twelve leagues from its mouth, is no where less than from four to five leagues broad, but above that isle it narrows so, that before Quebec it is not above a mile over. Hence this place got the name of Quebeis, or Quebec, which in the Algonquin tongue signifies a straitning, or strait. The Abenakis, whose language is a dialect of the Algonquin, call it Quelibec, which signifies a place shut up or conceal'd, because, as you enter from the little river of Chaudiere, by which these savages come to Quebec from Acadia, the point of Levy, which jetteth out beyond the isle of Orleans, entirely hides the South channel of the river St. Laurence,

as

as the isle of Orleans does that on the North; so that from thence the port of Quebec appears like a large bason, or bay, land-locked on all sides.

The first object, which presents itself on entering the road, is a beautiful cascade, or sheet of water, about thirty foot broad, and forty high, which appears just at the entry of the little channel of the isle of Orleans, and is seen from that long point on the South of the river, which as I observed, hides the isle of Orleans. This cascade is called the fall of Montmorency, and the point, the point of Levy, in honour of two successive viceroys of New France; viz. the admiral Montmorency, and his nephew the duke of Ventadour. One would naturally conclude that so plentiful a fall of water, which never decreases, should proceed from a large river. It is however only supplied by an inconsiderable brook, which in some places is not ankle deep, but it never dries up, and issues from a fine lake, about twelve leagues distant from the fall.

The city lies a league higher on the same side, and in the place where the river is narrowest. But between it and the isle of Orleans is a bason, a full league in diameter every way, into which the river St. Charles empties itself from the North-West. Quebec stands exactly between the river and cape Diamond, which advances out behind it. The anchorage, or road, is opposite in twenty-five fathom, good ground; however when the wind blows hard at North East, ships often drive, but without danger.

When Samuel Champlain founded this city in one thousand six hundred and eight, the tide sometimes flow'd to the foot of the rock; since that time the river has by degrees retreated, and left dry a large space of ground, on which the lower town is built, and which at present is sufficiently elevated above the water mark, to secure it from any fears of inundation. The first thing you meet at landing is an open place of a middling compass, and irregular form, with a row of houses in front tolerably built, having the rock behind them, so that they have no great depth. These form a pretty long street, which takes up all the breadth of the ground, and extends from right to left to two passages which lead to the high town. This opening is bounded on the left by a small church, and on the right by two rows of houses running parallel to each other. There is also another range of buildings between the church and the port, and along the shore, as you go to cape Diamond; there is a pretty long row of houses on the edge of a bay, called the Bay of Mothors;
this

this port may be regarded as a kind of suburb to the lower town.

Between this suburb and the latter you ascend to the high town, by a passage so steep, that they have been obliged to cut steps in the rock, so that it is only practicable on foot, but as you turn from the lower town to the right hand, there is a way more easy, with houses on each side. In the place where these two passages meet, begins the high town towards the river, for there is another part of the lower town towards the river St. Charles. The first building you meet, as you ascend from the right hand, is the episcopal palace; the left is surrounded with houses. As you advance twenty paces further, you find yourself between two large squares. That on the left is the place of arms, adjoining to the fort, which is the residence of the governor general; opposite to it is the convent of Recollects, and part of the remainder of the square is surrounded with well-built houses.

In the square on the right stands the cathedral church, which is the only parish church in the city. The seminary lies on one side in a corner, formed by the great river and the river St. Charles; opposite the cathedral is the Jesuit's college, and in the space between handsome buildings. From the place of arms run two streets, cross'd by a third, and which form a large square, or isle, entirely taken up by the church and convent of Recollects. The second square had two descents to the river of St. Charles, one very steep, joining to the seminary, with but few houses; the other near the Jesuits inclosure, which winds very much, has the hospital on one side about midway, and is bordered with small houses. This goes to the palace the residence of the intendant of the province. On the other side the Jesuit's College near their church is a pretty long street, with a convent of Ursuline nuns. As to the rest, the high town is built on a foundation of rock, partly marble and partly slate; it has greatly increased within twenty years past.

Such is the topography of Quebec, which takes up a considerable extent. The houses are large, and all of stone, yet there are reckoned but about seven thousand souls. To give a fuller idea of this city, I shall now speak of its principal edifices, and conclude with its fortifications.

The church in the lower town was built in consequence of a vow made during the siege of Quebec, in one thousand six hundred and ninety. It is consecrated by the name of our lady of victory, and serves as a chapel of ease to the inhabitants of the lower town. The building is plain, its chief ornament

ornament being its neatness and simplicity. Some sisters of the congregation are settled between this church and the port; their number is four or five, and they keep a school.

The Bishop's palace is a long quadrangle, and a fine structure.

The cathedral would make but a mean figure in one of our smallest French towns; judge then if it merits to be the only episcopal see of the French empire in America, an empire of greater extent than that of the ancient Romans. Its architecture, the choir, the grand altar, and chapels have all the air of a country church. The most tolerable part is a very high tower, solidly built, and which at a distance makes no ill appearance. The seminary, which joins this church, is a large square, and has all the conveniencies proper to this climate. From the garden you see the road, and the river St. Charles, as far as the sight can reach.

The fort is a handsome building with two wings. You enter by a spacious and regular court, but there is no garden, because it is built on the edge of a rock. This defect is supplied in some measure by a fine gallery, with a balcony, or ballustrade, which surrounds the building. It commands the road, from the middle of which a speaking trumpet may be heard, and you see all the lower town under your feet. Leaving the fort to the left, you cross a pretty large esplanade, and by an easy descent you reach the summit of Cape Diamond, which forms a natural platform. Besides the beauty of the prospect hence, you breathe the purest air, and may see numbers of porpoises, white as snow, playing on the surface of the waters. On this Cape also are found a kind of diamonds, more beautiful than those of Alencan; I have seen some as well cut by nature, as if they had been done by the ablest artist. Formerly they were abundant here, and hence this Cape took its name; but at present they are rarely found. The descent on the side of the country is yet more easy than that from the esplanade.

The Fathers Recollect have a large and fine church, such as might even do them honour at Versailles. It is neatly wainscotted, and adorned with a large gallery, a little clumsy, but the work around well wrought. This part is the work of a lay brother; nothing is wanting, but it would be proper to remove some pictures coarsely daubed, the rather as F. Luke has painted others, which need not such foils. The convent is answerable to the church, large, strongly built, and commodious, with a spacious garden, kept in good order.

The convent of the Ursulines has suffered twice by fire, as

well as the seminary. Their revenue is besides so small, and the portions they receive with the young Canadian ladies so inconsiderable, that the first time their monastery was burnt, the government were going to send them back to France. They have however found means to recover themselves each time. They are cleanly and commodiously lodged; this is the effect of the good reputation they have in the colony, as well as owing to their frugality, temperance, and industry. They gild, they embroider, and in general are all employ'd; what they do is generally in a good taste.

The Jesuits college is a noble building. It is certain, when Quebec was only a confus'd heap of French barracks, and hutts of savages, this edifice, the only one of stone, except the fort, made some figure. Its situation is no way advantageous, being deprived of the view of the road, which it formerly enjoyed, by the cathedral and seminary, so that it only commands the adjoining square. The court is small and dirty, and looks like that of a farm-house. The garden is large, and well kept, and is terminated by a small wood, the remains of that antient forest, which once covered the whole mountain. The church has nothing beautiful without, but a handsome chapel. It is covered with slate, in which it has the advantage of all the churches of Canada, which are only roofed with planks; the inside of it is highly ornamented. The gallery is light, bold, and has a balustrade of iron, painted, gilt, and delicately wrought. The pulpit is all gilt, and the wood and iron work exquisite. The three altars are well placed, and there are some good pictures. It has no roof, but a flat cieling, well wrought. The floor is of wood, and not stone, which makes this church warm, while others are insupportably cold. I shall not mention the four pillars of a cylindrical form, of porphyry, jett black, without speck or veins, which La Hontan has placed over the great altar. No doubt they would make a better figure than the present ones, which are hollow, and coarsely marbled. This writer had been pardonable, if he had disguised the truth only to beautify the church *.

The Hotel Dieu, or hospital, of Quebec has two great halls, appropriated to the different sexes. The beds are clean, the sick carefully attended, and every thing commodious and neat. The church lies behind the womens apartment, and has nothing remarkable but the great altar, whose painting is fine. This house is served by the nuns hospitalers of

* A good observation in the Jesuit, as if a lye in honour of the church was more excusable than on any other occasion.

of St. Augustine of the congregation of the Mercy of Jesus, who first came here from Dieppe. Their apartments are convenient, but according to appearances their funds are too small to make any progress. As their house is situated on the slope of the hill, on an eminence which commands the river St. Charles, they have a tolerably good prospect.

The house of the intendant is call'd the palace, because the supreme council assembles here. It is a large building, whose two extremities sink some feet, and to which you ascend by a double flight of steps. The front to the garden, which has a prospect to the river St. Charles, is much more agreeable than you enter at. The king's magazines form the right side of the court, and the prison lies behind them. The gate you enter at is hid by the mountain, on which stands the high town, and which on this side only presents the eye with a steep and disagreeable rock.

About a quarter of a league in the country stands the general hospital: This is the most beautiful building in Canada, and would be no disgrace to the finest town in France. The Recollects formerly possessed this spot of ground. M. de St. Valier, bishop of Quebec, removed them into the city, bought their right and laid out one hundred thousand crowns in the building, furniture, and endowment. The only fault of this edifice is its marshy situation; but the river St. Charles in this place, making a turn, its waters do not flow easily, and the evil is without remedy.

The prelate-founder has his apartment in the house, where he usually resides; his palace in the city, which he also built, he lets out for the benefit of the poor. He condescends even to officiate as chaplain to the hospital and the nuns, and performs the duties of that place, with a zeal and assiduity that would be admirable even in an ordinary priest. Tradesmen, or others, whose great age deprives them of the means of getting their subsistence, are received on this foundation as far as the number of beds will allow, and are served by thirty nuns. It is a colony of the Hotel Dieu at Quebec, but to distinguish them, the bishop has made some peculiar regulations, and those admitted here wear a silver cross on their breast. The nuns for the most part are of good families, and as they are often poor, the bishop has given portions to several.

I have already said the number of people does not exceed seven thousand: But amongst these you find a select Beau Monde, whose conversation is desirable; a governor general with his household, nobility, officers; an intendant with a su-

preme council, and inferior magistrates, a commissary of marines, a grand provost, a grand hunter, a grand master of waters and forests, whose jurisdiction is the longest in the world, rich merchants, and such as appear to live at ease, a bishop and numerous seminary; two colleges of Recollects and Jesuits, three Nunneries, Polite Assemblies, both at the Lady Governor's and Lady Intendant's; so that it is scarce possible but a man must pass his time agreeably in this city.

Indeed every body here contributes to this end, by parties at cards, or of pleasure, the winter in sleds, or in skaits, the summer in chaises, or canoes. Hunting is much used, several gentlemen having no other resource. As to news indeed there is little, because the country affords none, and the packets from Europe come all at a time, but then they furnish matter of discourse for some months: The sciences and arts have their turn, and embellish conversation.

*DESCRIPTION of the Island of CAPE BRETON,
and the adjacent Isles, by P. CHARLEVOIX.*

THE isle of Cape Breton (by the French called Isle Royale) is situated between the 45 and 47 degrees of N. lat. and with Newfoundland (from which it is but 15 or 16 leagues distant) forms the S. entry of the bay or gulph of St. Laurence. The strait which separates it from Acadia (or New Scotland) is in length about 5 French leagues, and one in breadth, and is called the passage of Canso. The length of this isle from N. E. to S. W. is scarcely fifty leagues, and its greatest breadth from E. W. does not exceed thirty-three. Its shape is very irregular, being so deeply indented with rivers and lakes, that the north and south parts are only joined by an isthmus of about eighteen hundred feet broad, which separates the bottom of the bay of Toulouse from several lakes called Labrador. These lakes discharge themselves into the eastern sea, by two channels of unequal breadth, formed by the isle of Verderonne, or de la Boularderie, which is seven or eight leagues long.

The climate of this isle is not very different from that of Quebec, and, though the fogs are more frequent here, the air is not reckoned unhealthy. The soil is not alike good, though it produces trees of all kinds. Here are oaks of a prodigious size, pine-trees fit for masts, and, in general, all sorts of timber. The most common kinds, next the oak, are the cedar, the ash, the maple, the plane, and the asp. Fruit trees,

trees, especially the apple; pulse and roots, wheat, and the other grains necessary to life, are less abundant here, as well as hemp and flax, though as to quality, they thrive as well as in Canada. It has been observed that the mountains here may be cultivated even to the top; that the best lands are such as incline to the south, being defended from the N. and N. W. winds by the mountains which lie on the side of the river of St. Laurence.

Domestic animals, such as horses, black cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry thrive well. Hunting and fishing yield the inhabitants a plentiful subsistence, for a great part of the year. Here are several good mines of excellent coal, which, as they lie on the mountainous parts of the isle, have no need of digging for them, or of making drains to carry off the water; there is also lime-stone. No place in the world is esteemed to yield such plenty of cod, or to have greater conveniencies for drying it. Formerly the isle was well stock'd with game, which is now scarce, especially the elk: their partridges are of the size of a pheasant, and resembling them in their plumage. The fishery for seals, porpoises, and sea-cows is easy, and very profitable from its plenty.

All the ports of this isle lie from the E. inclining to the S. for 55 leagues, beginning from Port Dauphin to Port Toulouse, which last lies near the mouth of the passage, or streight of Canso. All the rest of the coast scarce affords anchorage, but for small barks in the little bays, or between the isles. The northern coast is very steep and inaccessible, as is also the western side, till you meet the straits of Canso, which, when you have passed, you meet Port Toulouse, formerly called Port St. Peter. This harbour lies between a kind of gulph, called Little St. Peter, and the isles of St. Peter, opposite to the Isles de Madame, or de Maurepas. From thence proceeding N. E. you meet the bay de Gabaron, whose entrance, which is twenty leagues from the isles of St. Peter, is a league full of islands and rocks. Ships may sail close to all these islands, some of which lie off a league and an half from the continent. This bay is two leagues deep, and has good anchorage throughout.

The port of Louisbourg, or English harbour, is but a league distant, and one of the best in all America. It is about four leagues in circumference, and has, in every part of it, six or seven fathom water. The anchorage is good, and ships may run a-shore on the sands without danger. The entrance is not above two hundred toises broad between two small isles, and is known twelve leagues off at sea by the cape of Lorembec,

bec, which lies a little to the N. E. Two leagues further is the Port de Baleine, or Port Nove, of difficult access, on account of some rocks, which are covered when the sea runs high. It will not admit ships of above three hundred tons, but those under that burthen may lie safe here. From hence it is but two leagues to the bay of Panadou, or Menadou, the mouth of which is about a league broad, and the length of it two. Almost opposite lies the isle of Scatari, formerly Little Cape Breton, which is near two leagues long, and is only separated from the bay of Miray by a very narrow peninsula. The entry of this bay is about two leagues broad, and it is eight deep. It grows narrower as you sail up, and several rivulets, or rather small rivers, discharge themselves into it. It is navigable six leagues for large vessels, which may find good anchorage, and lie safe from all winds. Besides the isle of Scatari, there are several smaller isles and rocks, always dry, and which may be seen at a good distance: the largest of these rocks is called Ferillon. The bay of Morienne, which lies a little higher, is separated from the bay of Mira by Cape Brule, and a little higher is the isle Platte, or the isle de Pierre a Fusil (Flint Isle.) Between these islands and rocks there is good shelter, and sufficient depth of water.

Three leagues farther to the N. E. lies Indiana, a good harbour, but only capable of small vessels. From hence it is two leagues to Spanish bay, which is a fine port: Its entry is not above one hundred feet over, but it widens as you go in, and, at a league's end, divides itself into two branches, each of which is navigable for three leagues. Both these ports are good, and might be improved at a small expence. From Spanish Bay to the lesser entry of Labrador is two leagues, and the island which forms the greater and lesser entry is as long. The Labrador is a gulph about twenty leagues in length, and three or four over in the broadest part: From the grand entry of the Labrador to Port Dauphin, or St. Ann, is a league and half: There is safe anchorage amongst the isles of Sibou. A narrow slip of land closes this port, so as only to admit of one vessel at a time. The harbour is two leagues in circumference, and so land-lock'd by the high-lands and mountains which surround it, that you scarce feel the wind; besides, ships may lie close to the shore. As all these ports and bays lie so close to each other, it would be easy to make roads of communication by land, from one to the other, which would be, in winter, of great benefit to the inhabitants, as it would save them the trouble of going round by sea.

P. Charlevoix here gives the substance of a memorial presented

sented to the court of France in 1706, in which, among other advantages, it is observed that this island is naturally seated for a staple of trade between Old and New France.

That it is able, of its own growth, to supply Old France with fish, train-oil, pit-coal, lime, and timber for building; and to furnish New France with the commodities of Old France at a cheap rate: And the navigation from Quebec to Cape Breton will make very good sailors of such as are now useless, and even a burthen to the country.

That another considerable benefit to Canada, from a good settlement in this island, would be, that boats and small craft might be sent from thence to fish for cod-fish, and others affording oil, at the mouth of the river St. Laurence. These vessels might be sure of disposing of their cargoes in Cape Breton, and there stock themselves with French goods. Or vessels might be sent to France from Quebec loaded with the commodities of the country; there they might load with salt for fishing in the gulph, and afterwards return to Cape Breton with cargoes of fish, and there dispose of it, and with the produce of these two voyages purchase the merchandises of France to traffic with in Canada. It is proper here to observe, continues the memorial, that what hindered the Canadians from fishing in the gulph, and at the mouth of the river St. Laurence, was their being obliged to carry their fish to Quebec, where they would not yield enough to pay the freight and seamen's wages, on account of the length of the voyage; and if they were so lucky as to make any profit, which was very seldom, it was not considerable enough to engage the colony to continue the trade.

But the two colonies (at Cape Breton and Quebec) assisting each other, and their merchants growing rich by traffic, they might enter into associations and companies for undertakings beneficial to themselves, and consequently to the French nation, were it only to open the iron mines, which are in such plenty in the countries about the three rivers; for then the mines in Old France, and its woods might have rest, or at least we should not be obliged to Sweden and Biscay for iron.

Besides, ships which go from France to Canada always run great hazards at their return, unless they make this voyage in the spring. But the small vessels of Quebec run no risk in going to Cape Breton, because they chuse their own time, and have experienced pilots. They have two voyages in a year, and so save the ships of France the labour of going up the river of St. Laurence, and shorten their voyage by one half.

It is not only by promoting the consumption of commodities
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in New France, that such a settlement would be beneficial to the kingdom, but as it lies convenient for disposing of its wines, brandy, linens, ribbands, taffetas, &c. to the English colonies; which commerce will be a very material article, because the English would furnish themselves at Cape Breton, and at Canada, with all these merchandises, not only for the continent, where their colonies are very populous, but also for their islands, and those of the Dutch, even tho' the importation of French commodities were not openly permitted.

In short, nothing is more likely than such a settlement to engage the merchants of France in the cod-fishery, because the isle of Cape Breton, furnishing Canada with merchandise, the vessels employ'd in that fishery will take in their lading half salt, and half in wares, by which means they will make double profit; whereas at present they are only laden with salt. To this we may add that the increase of our fishery will enable France to furnish Spain and the Levant with fish, and so bring a great deal of money into the kingdom.

The whale-fishery, which is also very plentiful in the gulph, towards the coasts of Labrador, and in the river of St. Laurence as far as Tadoussac, might also be reckoned one of the most solid advantages of such an establishment. The ships which go on this expedition might load in France with merchandise, which they might sell at Cape Breton, or leave in the hands of their American factors. They might provide themselves with casks on the spot, and then set out for the fishery, which is the more commodious in those parts, in that it is made in the summer, and not in the winter, as in the Northern parts of Europe, where the fishing-boats are surrounded with ice, so that the whales are often lost after they are struck with the harpoon. The ships thus employ'd would gain not only by the merchandise, which they carry'd to Cape Breton, but also by the fish, and this double profit would be made in less time, and with less hazard, than what is made in the North with only whale-oil, and the money expended in Holland for that commodity would be saved to the nation.

It has been already observ'd that the isle of Cape Breton has plenty of trees for masts, and timber for building of its own growth, and besides lies convenient for importing them from Canada; this must augment the mutual commerce of these two colonies, and furnish an easy way for building of ships here. All things necessary may easily be imported from Canada; and would cost much less than in France, and might enable us to sell ships to foreigners, of whom we now purchase them.

Lastly,

Lastly, there is no safer or more convenient retreat for ships bound from all parts of America, whether chased by enemies, surpriz'd by bad weather, or in want of water, wood, or provisions. And in time of war, this port might send out cruisers to ruin the trade of New England, and seize the whole Cod-Fishery.-----

On the cession made of Placentia and Acadia to the crown of England by the peace of Utrecht in 1712, the French having no place where they could either safely cure their cod, or pursue the fishery, but Cape Breton Isle, they found themselves under a necessity of making a settlement, and fortifying themselves in this place.

The first thing they did was to change the name, calling it Isle Royale. The next step was to chuse the place for settling the colony, and it was long in suspense whether they should fix on English Harbour (now Louisbourg) or Port St. Anne (now Port Dauphin.)

The former (Louisbourg, or English Harbour) has been already described, as one of the finest ports in America. The Cod-Fishery is excellent, and continues from April to the end of December; but the soil is barren all round, and it would cost immense sums to fortify it, as there were no materials to be had for that purpose in the neighbourhood. Besides, there was not anchorage room enough in the harbour for above forty fishing vessels at a time.

On the contrary, the port Dauphin, or St. Anne, (as before described) had both the advantages of a surer road, a more difficult entry, and a safer port within: Add to this, that all the materials for fortifying the place, and building a town, were to be had on the spot. The adjacent country was fertile, and full of wood, and the fishery equally good as at Louisbourg, only with this difference, that the westerly winds made it impracticable to fish in boats here, though it was as easy to do it in sloops, as at Boston in New England.

The sole inconvenience, which turned the scale between these two ports, was the difficulty of entering the latter. English Harbour was therefore settled by the name of Louisbourg, and nothing was left undone to make this new establishment at once commodious and impregnable.

A DESCRIPTION of SAINT VINCENT, a neutral island.

THIS island is about twenty-four miles in length and eighteen in breadth, and lies about fifty miles North-west of Barbados. The original inhabitants of it were Caribbeans,

Caribbeans, by a strange intermixture of shipwrecked, or run-away negroes, the negroe complexion and species has the predominancy. Upon the whole, the inhabitants of St. Vincent, before the cession of it to the crown of Great-Britain by the treaty of Paris, 1763, were extremely tenacious of their independency, but far from being so ferocious as many of the other savages, because they often traded with the European nations, and gave them refreshments for hatchets, scissars, knives, and other hardware toys. It is observable, that St. Vincent was more populous than the other Caribbee-Islands of the same dimensions, because it was the general rendezvous of those savages when they carried on war with the people of the neighbouring continent, with whom they seldom were at peace. By all accounts, the Caribbeans consulted their own interests very improperly when they admitted the negroes into a partnership of their soil; for the latter tyrannized over them to such a degree, that they made several attempts to introduce the French and English into the island, that they might dispossess the negroes. We do not, however, perceive that those attempts succeeded; for many of the negroes having some knowledge of the European discipline and manners, they baffled all the attempts made to dispossess them, and are said to have lived on the island plentifully and comfortably.

In 1719, the French from Martinico endeavoured to dislodge them, but lost many of their men, and were obliged to return. It is generally allowed, that St. Vincent is one of the best of all the Antilles islands. The soil is excellent, as likewise the water and the wood. Tobacco may be cultivated here to great perfection, and had the Europeans succeeded in making a settlement upon it, it must have soon become a kind of storehouse for Martinico and the other Caribbee islands, as every thing necessary for life is here easily raised. The negroes assimilate themselves as much as possible to the Caribbeans in their dress and manner of living; but they are easily distinguishable by their woolly heads and flat features. Both of them have separate chiefs, but no one claims to be sovereign; their government approaching more to the republican than any other form. When the duke of Montague's attempt to people this island, and that of St. Lucia took place, the French, from Martinico and their other islands repaired hither, and prepossessed the inhabitants, both negroes and Indians, against the English, who, they said, intended to make them slaves. All the endeavours of Mr. Egerton, who was sent thither by Captain Vring, to persuade the natives to submit to

to the duke of Montague's proprietary power, could not get the better of this prepossession; nor could the natives form any idea of the right which a King of England, or any other potentate, had to dispose of their island. Their numbers, which amounted in the whole to about 14,000, made them the more secure.

Mr. Egerton thus failing in his solicitations, Mr. Braithwaite, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor under Mr. Vring, was sent from Antigua, to which island the settlement designed for St. Lucia had retired, in the Griffin sloop, attended by the Winchelsea man of war, to make a fresh attempt upon the inhabitants. This became the more necessary, on account of the orders lately arrived from England, which were peremptory, that a settlement should be made on St. Vincent. Mr. Braithwaite, coming to an anchor off the island, was visited by a person who pretended to be a chief, with twenty-two other inhabitants, but he soon had reason to believe, that this chief was an impostor, and had no other view than to get from him some presents. The currents soon drove Mr. Braithwaite's ship off from this station, and he anchored in a spacious bay to the leeward of the island, which then presented a place very proper for making a settlement. Here he landed, but found the shore covered with Indians, headed by a Frenchman, and all of them furnished with fire-arms. They immediately seized Braithwaite, carried him a mile up the country, where he was introduced to their general, who was surrounded by a guard of about 100 Indians, some with fire-arms, and others with bows and arrows. A Frenchman served as interpreter between the chief and Braithwaite, who found himself under a necessity to conceal his real errand, by pretending that he had come upon the island only to wood and water; and he offered to leave hostages in case the chief could be persuaded to trust himself on board the English ship. This offer was rejected, and Braithwaite was given to understand, that his safest course would be to get under sail, as information had been received, that he intended to force a settlement upon the island; nor was he permitted either to wood or water. Returning to the shore, he found an additional number of negroes with fire-arms; but when he got into his boat he sent on shore a present of some refreshments to the Indian chief. The scene was now changed. The French interpreter, who had been placed as tutor over the savage general, was withdrawn, and the present was not only received with great thankfulness, but the messenger was given to understand, that the English were welcome to whatever

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the island afforded. A present of bows and arrows attended this compliment, and ten of the Indians, who spoke very good French, going on board Mr. Braithwaite's ship, offered to remain there as hostages, if he chose again to go on shore. Braithwaite sent them on board the man of war, and went on shore with captain Watson; but he found that the negroes and the Caribbeans were united, and that the negro chief had with him five hundred blacks, most of them armed with fire-arms. They offered to suffer Braithwaite to wood and water under a guard, and with difficulty he prevailed upon the Indian and negroe chiefs to go on board the *Winchelsea*, where they were very handsomely entertained, and had presents made them by captain Orme. Being plied with liquor, Braithwaite discovered that they were invincibly resolved against the English making any settlement upon their island; and he was informed, that had he owned any such design when on shore, they could not have protected him. He understood, at the same time, that the Dutch had made a like attempt, but without success; that the French had furnished the inhabitants with fire-arms, and had promised to support them with all the force of Martinico, against the English. Braithwaite, notwithstanding all this opposition, learned, that the Caribbeans and the negroes were equally averse to the French as to the English government, and that they were determined to oppose all Europeans settling among them.

Thus ended this fruitless, expensive expedition, which cost the duke of Montague an immense sum of money. It is evident, that the French imposed upon the English throughout the whole transaction; nor is it easy to account for the principles upon which the latter acted. Upon Braithwaite's report, and the captains of the English men of war declining to act offensively in support of the settlement, the English government at Antigua gave it under their hands, as their opinion, that it would be dangerous, and at the same ineffectual, to make any farther attempt for a settlement upon St. Vincent. The island, therefore, was considered as neutral between Great-Britain and France, till the conclusion of the treaty of peace, signed the 10th of February, 1763, at Paris, when it was ceded by the ninth article to the crown of Great-Britain.

*A DESCRIPTION of the GRENADILLAS, or
GRENADINE ISLANDS.*

THE chief of these is Grenada, which lies in west longitude, 61. 40. and north lat. 12. It is the last of the Windward Caribbees, and lies thirty leagues north of New Andalusia

Andalusia on the continent. According to father Tertre, it is twenty-four leagues in compass, but Labat makes it no more than twenty-two, and it is said to be about thirty miles in length, and in some places fifteen in breadth. It abounds with wild game and fish, which, probably, occasioned the Caribbeans to resort in greater numbers to this than to any other of the Antilles islands. In 1638, the famous Monsieur Poincy, attempted to make a settlement here, but he was driven off by the Caribbeans. Monsieur Parquet, the governor of Martinico, in June 1650, carried over 200 men from Martinico, furnished with presents to reconcile the savages to them, but with arms to subdue them if they should prove intractable. It is not easy to account for the right this Frenchman had to make such a settlement upon an island already inhabited by natives, which had often disclaimed all subjection to the French. The number of the latter are said to have frightened the savages into submission; and, if we are to believe the French accounts, their chief not only welcomed the new settlers, but, in consideration of some knives, scissars, hatchets, toys, and the like, presented to them, yielded to Parquet the property of their island, only reserving their own habitations to themselves. The French set about raising tobacco, and that which grew on his island was remarkably fine. They scarcely had got in one crop when they began to discover that all the seeming complaisance of the natives was dissembled; for they took every opportunity of surprising and cutting off their new guests. This produced a war, and the French settlers having received a reinforcement of three hundred men from Martinico, forced the savages to retire to a mountain, from whence, after exhausting all their arrows and other weapons, they rolled down large logs of wood upon their enemies. Soon after, they were joined by other savages from the neighbouring islands, and attacked the French a-new, but were again defeated; yet they were so desperate, that forty of them who had escaped from the sword, threw themselves over a precipice into the sea. The French then vented their rage upon their habitations, which they destroyed, together with all their provisions; but fresh supplies of Caribbeans arriving, they renewed the war with great briskness, and killed numbers of their enemies; the latter, upon this, came to a resolution of exterminating the whole race upon the island. An hundred and fifty of them accordingly attacked the savages unawares, and most inhumanly put to death the women and children, as well as the men, besides burning their boats and canoes, to cut
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off all communication of the few survivors, with the continent, or the neighbouring islands. Notwithstanding all those barbarous precautions, the Caribbeans still proved the irreconcilable enemies of the French; and their frequent insurrections at last obliged Parquet, to sell all his property in the island to the count de Cerillac in 1657, for 30,000 crowns. The count sent thither a person of brutal manners to govern it; upon which the better sort of the French abandoned it, and he was shot to death by those who remained. In 1664, no more than 150 planters, out of 500 who were settled on the island when the count bought it, lived upon it, and he sold it to the French West-India company for 100,000 livres; but in 1674, they were obliged to surrender all their rights in it to the King. After this, it continued to be inhabited chiefly by French, but never was fully settled; and, after the conquest of Martinico by the English, it was easily reduced; the full property of it, and the Grenadines, being a cluster of small neighbouring islands, was confirmed to the crown of Great-Britain, by the definitive treaty of 1763.

GRENADA, and the Grenadines produced very fine timber, but the cocoa-tree is observed not to thrive so well there as in the other islands. The latin-tree, which grows here, has a tall body, and its leaves, when tied together, serve as thatch for houses. A lake on a high mountain, about the middle of the island, supplies it with fresh-water streams, which render its soil delightful. Several bays and harbours lie round the island, some of which might be fortified to great advantage; so that it is very convenient for shipping, not being subject to hurricanes. Experience has proved, that its soil is fit for producing, besides tobacco, sugar, indigo, peas, and millet; and, upon the whole, this island carries with it all the appearances of becoming as flourishing a colony as any in the West-Indies, of its dimensions. The chief port is called Lewis, and stands on the west side of the island, in the middle of a large bay, with a sandy bottom. It is pretended that a thousand barks from three hundred to four hundred tons, may ride secure from storms, and that one hundred ships of one thousand ton each may be moored in the harbour. A large round basin, which is parted from it by a bank of sand, if cut through, would contain a considerable number of ships, but at present large ships, on account of this sand-bank, are obliged to pass within eighty paces of one of the mountains lying at the mouth of the harbour; the opposite mountain lying at about half a mile distant. One of those mountains, when the English reduced the island,

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was strongly fortified, and might have made a good defence, but surrendered without firing a gun. The truth is, the inhabitants, who were not very numerous, and but very ill commanded, were amazed at the reduction of Martinico and Guadaloupe, and lost all spirit. Grenada, however, at the time of its surrender, contained the face of a settlement, having a mean church, and some places of rendezvous, where the French assembled to defend themselves from the attacks of the savages.

A DESCRIPTION of TABAGO.

TABAGO lies near forty leagues south by west from Barbadoes, about thirty-five leagues south-east from St. Vincent, forty leagues east from Granada, twelve leagues north-east from Trinidad, and between thirty and forty leagues north-east from the Spanish Main. It is thirty-two miles in length, from south-east to north-west, and about nine broad from east to west; the whole being above seventy miles in circumference; so that it is rather larger than Barbadoes, or indeed any of our Leeward Islands; and near the north-east extremity there lies a small island, called Little Tabago, which is two miles in length, and the half in breadth. Tabago was first discovered by Columbus, in 1498, but we know of no settlement that he or any of his countrymen made upon the island. When an adventurous spirit for discoveries of every kind prevailed in England under queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Dudley, the lawful son of the famous earl of Leicester, in an expedition he made against Trinidad, gave the English government the first hint of peopling Tabago, which was then uninhabited by any European nation: But this proposal met with but small encouragement. William, earl of Pembroke, in the year 1628, obtained a grant of this island, with that of Barbuda and St. Bernard. Being a great patron of new settlements, and considerably engaged in the discoveries and undertakings that were then on foot in America, there is little reason to doubt that he intended to people Tabago; but his death happening in less than two years after, the design came to nothing. About the year 1632, some Zealanders having fitted out a small squadron for trading to those islands, took so great a liking to his island, that upon their return home, the company of merchants to which they belonged, undertook to settle it, and gave it the name of New Walcheren, one of the most considerable islands in Zealand; and from
the

the information of this company, that excellent Dutch geographer de Laet, has been enabled to give us a better account of Tabago than of any of the other Caribbee Islands. The new colony in a short time increased to about two hundred, who, finding themselves pestered by the visits of the Caribbean Indians, which they were unable to prevent, they began to erect a fort for their preservation. The barbarians, upon this, applied themselves for assistance to the Spaniards, who readily granted it; for they sent a force upon the island, which demolished the rising fort, and exterminated the new colony.

It was probably from the resort of some Dutch merchants to Courland, that first gave the hint to James duke of Courland for settling Tabago. He was a prince of a stirring, active disposition, and finding that there was room for such a settlement, he sent over a colony of his own subjects, who settled upon what has been since called Great Courland-Bay, and erected a small regular fort, with a town, in the neighbourhood. To the fort they gave the name of James, in honour of their own sovereign, who was named after James I. of Great-Britain. Here they lived so inoffensively, that they remained unmolested, either by the Caribbeans or the Spaniards; and they found its soil so kindly, that the colony in a short time had an excellent appearance. They were supplied, from their own country, with all kinds of utensils, and they flourished to such a degree, as to awaken the jealousy of the Dutch, who revived their claim upon the island. In 1654, two wealthy Dutch merchants, Mess. Adrian, and Cornelius Lampsius, of Flushing, fitted out some ships, who landed a considerable number of their countrymen upon Tabago; but found the Courlanders in no disposition to yield them possession of the island, which they said, they held under the authority of their own sovereign. The Courlanders were too powerful to be dispossessed; the Dutch took possession of a different part of the island, which is now called Rockley-Bay, acknowledging themselves to be under the protection of the duke of Courland, who suffered a melancholy reverse of fortune in Europe.

This duke had obtained a neutrality in the war between Poland and Sweden; but having given umbrage to Charles Gustavus of Sweden, he was taken prisoner in 1658, and carried first to Riga, and next to Ivanagorod. The news of the duke's disaster, who had been indefatigable in improving his country and its marine, reaching Tabago, the Dutch immediately besieged Fort James, which by the mutiny of the garrison was given up to them, and thereby they claimed possession

session of the whole island; but still promising to restore Fort James as soon as the duke should recover his liberty. By this time, the court of France, by one of those arbitrary deeds which is founded on ambition only, had inserted Tabago among the other islands that were granted to their West-India company; and the Dutch planters of Tabago thought that to be a good opportunity for establishing themselves under so powerful a protection. Lampsius, accordingly, in August 1662, had so much interest at the court of France, as to procure letters patent from Lewis XIV. creating him baron of Tabago, and they were registred the year following in the parliament of Paris. Lampsius, soon after, prevailed upon the Dutch West-India company to resign to him all their right in Tabago, and becoming thus the proprietor of the island, under the crown of France, he sent over Mr. Hubert de Beveren as his governor of the same. The new governor projected many public works and buildings to put the island upon a respectable footing. He called the town which his countrymen had built Lampsinburgh, and he gave the same name to the harbour, as also to a regular fortress which he erected at the same time. He likewise built Fort Beveren, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he intended to call New-Flushing; besides raising several other forts for the security of the colony. As to the planters, they proceeded with great spirit. They laid out fine cacao-walks, which served equally the purposes of beauty and profit; they erected indigo-works and sugar-mills; and in short, Tabago then seemed in a condition to rival the most flourishing of the English West-Indian settlements.

About the year 1664 the duke of Courland being restored to his liberty, applied to Charles II. of England, who granted him, on certain conditions, the island of Tabago; and in the Dutch wars, which soon after succeeded, the Dutch were dispossessed and after reinstated in it by the French governor of Grenada. After the Peace the Dutch were in possession of the island; but in 1677 the French reduced it, and utterly destroyed the Dutch colony upon it. About the year 1682, the duke of Courland covenanted with one captain John Poyntz for settling 120,000 acres of land with English and Courlanders.

But upon the extinction of the dukes of Courland, the fief of the island of Tabago reverted to the crown of England in 1737, and our government asserted its right to it. The Dutch, however, revived their claim to the island, and even suffered their West-India company to grant to one of

their subjects a commission for the government of Tabago. As to the court of France, its conduct was unaccountable to absurdity; for though by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Tabago was one of the four islands that were declared to be neutral, yet the marquis de Caylus, then governor of the French islands, maintained that it belonged to that crown, and even sent troops and men to fortify and settle it. The governor of Barbados receiving undoubted intelligence of this breach of the treaty, sent captain, now admiral, Tyrrel, in his majesty's ship the Chesterfield, to oppose so manifest a violation of all good faith; while the duke of Bedford, who was then secretary of state, and the earl of Albemarle the British ambassador at Paris, made such strenuous remonstrances on the same head, that the French court disavowed the proceedings of de Caylus, whom they ordered home, and commanded their settlement of the island to be discontinued. In this state it remained till the definitive treaty concluded at Paris, by its ninth article gave Tabago in full right to Great-Britain, after which the government of it was bestowed upon colonel Melvil.

The reader will easily perceive from the various contests which it has occasioned, that it must in itself be of uncommon value, which renders it the more necessary for us to give a description of its natural and other advantages. A few Indians, while it was in its state of neutrality, were its only settled inhabitants, and they lived in huts on the sea-coast, towards the northern extremity of the island. Those Indians are by nature far more tractable than the other Caribbeans; and tho' they are distractedly fond of liberty, there is no doubt, but that very passion might prevail with them to enjoy it, under the mild protection of a British government. A short time, and good usage, will reconcile them to the more polished habits of life, and as they are delighted with toys and utensils, a few presents of that kind might in time render them extremely serviceable to the first British planters of the island. The climate of Tabago is far more temperate than could be expected in an island that is but 11 degrees 10 minutes north from the equator; for the force of the sun is diminished by the sea-breezes. The Dutch, when they first settled the island, thought it was unwholesome; but as they proceeded in clearing it, its salubrity increased, and this they partly attributed to the aromatic exhalations of the spice and gum-trees, with which the soil every where abounds. Tabago has another favourable circumstance to recommend it, by its lying out of the tract of those hurricanes that prove so fatal to

to the other West-India islands; and consequently, it is not liable to those blasts that sometimes destroy the most promising harvests upon them.

The surface of the island is unequal, and agreeably diversified with risings and fallings; but no part of it is rugged or impassable, though its northwest extremity is mountainous. Its soil is of different kinds, but in general its mould is rich and black, and proper for producing, in the greatest plenty, whatever is raised in other parts of the West-Indies. The abundance of springs upon the island contributes to its healthfulness, and its bays and creeks are so disposed as to be very commodious for all kinds of shipping. It is, however, to be remarked, that its situation requires fortifications to render the island secure against the visits of savages and enemies. This is a most important consideration for the government of Great-Britain, as, without such fortifications, the natural richness of the island serves but to render it the more inviting to invaders. But the valuable timber which grows on Tabago, is, perhaps, the greatest riches; for, besides its producing the different kinds of wood that are to be found in the other West-Indian islands, the Dutch affirm, that both the true nutmeg-tree, and the cinnamon-tree, with that which produces the real gum copal, grows upon this island. Tho' the Dutch can scarcely be supposed to be deceived in the natural properties of those trees, which they acknowledge to be different in some respects from those in their East-Indies, and their other Asiatic plantations; yet a great doubt remains whether they are the original productions of Tabago, or whether they had not been imported and planted there from the East-Indies. Though the latter is the most probable opinion, yet as the fact itself, which is undisputed, evinces, that those rich spices may be cultivated upon the island, it renders it an object highly deserving the attention of the public; especially, as sugar itself was imported into the West-Indies from Europe; and the same may be said of other commodities that are now become staple ones in America.

Mr. Blome, who in the year 1687, wrote the present state of our American islands, says, that the soil naturally produces Indian corn, such as grows in Virginia, New-York, and Carolina; but that no English grain, excepting peas, beans, and pulse, can be raised there; and that the island produces Guinea corn, French beans, and various kinds of peas. He mentions the cushion apple, which, he says, is both meat and drink, and that an excellent lamp-oil may be made out of its rind when green. The fig-trees upon Tabago are

reckoned equal to those in Spain and Portugal. The prickly-apple, the banana, the pomegranate, the pine-apple, and several other rich fruits, grow here. The oranges which grow here are said, by our author, to be of three kinds, or rather to serve three purposes, the sour or bitter one for sauce, their flowers for essences, and their sweet-ones, which here are excellent, for eating. Lemons and limes of both kinds, *viz.* sour and sweet, are found in plenty upon this island; and the marmalade, which is made of its guavas, yields to none. Plantains, that food which is so useful in supporting the negroes, to whom it is agreeable, grow here of an excellent kind; as do tamarinds, though the island produces great quantities of grapes, which are very delicious when eaten off the cluster, yet we know of no wine that ever was made here; though it is very probable, that a little culture and perseverance might raise wine equal to any in Europe. The custard-apple, the sour-apple, the papaw-apple, the mamme-apple, and the yellow plum are plentiful here. The cherries that grow upon the island are but indifferent. The cocoa-nut-tree grows here to such perfection, that the Indians call it God's-tree, as producing both meat, drink, and cloathing. Musk, cucumbers, and water-melons thrive here, as do pumpkins and gourds. The inhabitants make use of potatoes as bread. They likewise have yams, carrots, turnips, parsnips, onions, and cassada-root. The author last quoted, though he wrote almost fourscore years ago, bears an ample testimony of all that is said at present in favour of this island; for he tells us, that besides cinnamon, it naturally produces tea, with five different sorts of pepper, the long, the red, the bell, the round, and the Jamaica; all which grow upon the island, without culture. Notwithstanding this, we cannot think that these are natives of Tabago; but they sufficiently prove, that all the products of the East-Indies may be cultivated there.

According to the same author, wild hogs abounded so much upon Tabago, that the people cut off at least 20,000 of them every year, without their being sensibly diminished. The pickery of Tabago resembles a hog, and it contains numbers of armadillos, guanoes, which are of the alligator-kind; Indian-conies, and badgers, which are particularly fond of and familiar with men. Horses, cows, asses, sheep, deer, goats, and rabbits, were probably introduced by the Dutch, and their breeds are still to be found upon the island. Its shores are stored with excellent fish, particularly with turtle of every kind, and mullets of a most delicious taste, with other

other kinds unknown in England. In short, no island, perhaps, in the world, can boast of such variety of fishes, both shell and others, as Tabago can; so that it would be too tedious to particularize them. The same may be said of their fowl, and, according to the above author, "commodities which the country doth or may produce, are, cacao-nut, sugar, tobacco, indico, ginger, sarsaparilla, semper-vivum, bees-wax, vinillioes, natural balsam, balm, silk-grass, green tar, soap-earth, with many curious shells, stones, markasites, and minerals, found up and down the island of Tabago, whose virtue and worth are yet unknown."

An ACCOUNT of SENEGAL on the coast of AFRICA,
ceded to GREAT-BRITAIN by the late PEACE.

THE island of Senegal is situated about three leagues within the mouth of the river of that name. Although it is something less than three English miles in length, but little more than four hundred yards broad, and the whole of it hardly any thing else but a kind of white sand bank, yet the director general for the French East-India company resided there, though the principal warehouse of that company was a pretty deal higher up the river at Podar.

The most important production of Senegal is the gum so called, of which great consumption is made in the process of several manufactures here in England, particularly that of printed linens, which has so increased of late years as to raise that drug to a very high price. It much resembles gum arabic in many respects, but generally comes in much larger drops, usually of an oval form, some of the bigness of a small egg, and others yet larger: Their surface is rough and wrinkled: It is a very hard, but not a tough gum, considerably heavy, and of a very fine and even inward texture. When broken it is found to be of a pale brown colour. It has no smell and but little taste. If held in the mouth it will melt, though slowly, and is entirely dissolvable in water, but not at all in oils or spirits. The French had it from the country people, who collect it on both sides of the river, partly for merchandize, and partly for their own use. They dissolve it in milk, and in that state make it a principal ingredient in many of their dishes, and often feed on it thus alone. It is yet uncertain from what tree this gum is produced.

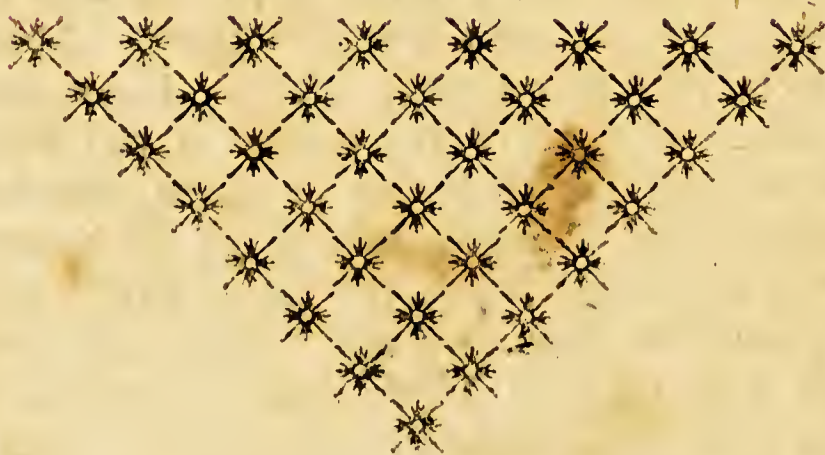
The natives of Senegal are of a deep copper complexion, of an extreme lazy disposition, and, on that account miserably poor

poor, yet endowed with a wonderful docility when strangers take pains to instruct them.

The hottest summers in Europe would be winters in Senegal; all is a burning sand, abounding in many places with tygers, crocadiles, and huge venomous serpents, some of them from forty to fifty feet long.

The nights are amazingly serene, and the stars shine with a vivacity to which the Europeans are altogether strangers. The inhabitants, as surprizing as it may seem, are well acquainted with those clusters of stars which form the principal constellations, called the Lion, the Scorpion, the Eagle, Pegasus, Orion, &c. to which they have given names that have no manner of relation to those of the ancient Greeks and Arabians, still retained by our modern astronomers. "This one consideration, says our author, may serve as a strong argument of the truth of Sir Isaac Newton's system whereon his chronology is principally founded. For why may not Chiron, the Argonaut, be allowed to form as good notions of asterisms to the sphere, and assign them names, as these poor Africans, born in barbarity, and bred up in ignorance, without the least inducement to study or speculation?"

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